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“THE ATTRACTION OF PUBLIC PARKS IN THE POST-MODERN CITY“

An Empirical Study of Vienna's Türkenschanzpark and Berlin's Mauerpark

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1 INTRODUCTION: CONSUMPTION AND EXCLUSION IN THE POST-MODERN CITY

*"Cities are the foundation of civilizations, driving economies, progress, creativity, and implementing political imperatives. But when they fail, so can civilizations."*¹

1.1 The Rise of Exclusive Consumption Spaces in the Post-Modern City

Over the last thirty years, a global restructuring process has taken place that affects the economic, political, social and cultural sphere of western societies. This transformation process, which can be conceptualised as a shift from modernism to post-modernism, is economically related to the decline of heavy and manufacturing industries and standardised mass production on the one hand and the rise of new service and cultural industries with niche products on the other hand. This brings along an increasing social polarisation of society through a flexible deregulation of the labour market which leads to under-employment and the creation of low-income jobs² as well as the rise of a new middle class, the 'creative class'³, with high qualified and highly paid jobs. On the political level this shift is underpinned by a changing role of the state from a welfare state with urban government to an entrepreneurial state, urban governance and neoliberal politics. Concerning the cultural sphere a diversification of lifestyles has taken place. As a consequence, the vertical classification of social classes according to education, profession and income is no longer sufficient to describe social segments of society.⁴

These comprehensive transformation processes have a spatial expression that can be monitored beside others in the restructuring of western cities. Cities enter a global intercity competition which makes it necessary to run them like companies in order to foster local growth. As a result, urban agendas are oriented towards the attraction of companies and financially strong groups like middle- and upper class residents, tourists or congresses delegations. Due to the declining manufacturing sector many old industrial sites in the city have turned into brownfields and are now open for new developments. In accordance with the competitive political strategies, these restructuring processes often lead to the creation of spectacular and exclusive places such as business and financial districts with high-rise office blocks, science parks, waterfront developments or flagship projects including concert halls, operas or urban entertainment centres.⁵ The growing social polarisation also finds its spatial

¹ HOORNWEG & BHADA 2009: 24

² Cf. HARVEY 1989

³ Cf. FLORIDA 2004

⁴ Cf. SCHULTZ & STIESS 2008

⁵ Cf. JAYNE 2006

expression in western urban environments in the form of more segregated and fragmented cities. Declining deprived and ethnical neighbourhoods can be found opposite to gated communities and rising gentrifying districts in the city centre. Therefore neoliberal politics lead to the emergence of exclusive or interdictory spaces that are only accessible by a distinctive part of the urban population, namely the upper-middle class.⁶

In the creation of inclusive city spaces, the element of consumption⁷ plays a crucial role. Western cities are places where collective as well as individual consumption takes place on a massive scale.⁸ This focus on consumption finds its spatial expression in the creation of "economically and symbolically important new urban consumer spaces": "...the contemporary dynamics of global capitalism in tandem with forms of neo-liberal politics provide a framework that leads to relatively high rates of investment in sites of consumption, shopping malls, and financial property with comparable disinvestment in public spaces and public provision."⁹

The rise of exclusive consumption spaces is related to two global problems, namely the "polarisation of society" and "over-consumption". First, not all residents can participate in the consumer culture in the same way. As a consequence consumption is also a means of exclusion for those who don't have sufficient financial means at their command: "Large numbers of people are thus marginalised or often excluded from city spaces because they are economically not able to participate in consumer culture in the way, and to the extent, they would like".¹⁰ Second, the consumption of commodities represents the using-up or destruction of natural limited resources. However, the human housekeeping takes place in a limited ecological system with its own mechanisms and regulations which cannot be negotiated with nature.¹¹ Despite this fact, neoclassical economics do not take the interdependency between the economic and the ecological system into consideration and imply "that given proper economic management, living standards could go on rising indefinitely".¹²

1.2 The Role of Parks in the Post-Modern City

As urban space is highly contested, every park is in competition with other possible uses. Under the neoliberal planning paradigm decisions are also driven by cost-benefit analyses and the profit motive. Consequently, green areas often have to clear the way for economically

⁶ Cf. BAUMAN 2007

⁷ REMARK: The discussion refers to the meaning of consumption as "the purchase of goods and services by the public" (OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS 2011)

⁸ Cf. JAYNE 2006

⁹ EKERDT ET AL. 2009: 4

¹⁰ JAYNE 2005: 7

¹¹ Cf. MELBER 2009

¹² COMMON & STAGL 2009: 2-3

profitable facilities like housing or shopping centres.¹³ On the other hand, new parks are created on old industrial sites that are being converted to mixed land-uses "as an attraction to enhance the use and value of land as a key commodity in capitalist society."¹⁴ Furthermore, urban green spaces are used as an element for the promotion of a high quality of life in the city. It is argued that the "aesthetic, historical and recreational values of urban parks increase the attractiveness of the city and promote it as tourist destination, thus generating employment and revenues."¹⁵ When analysing the position of parks in the contemporary city, it is also important to keep in mind that parks are an important part of the current planning paradigm, urban sustainability, which became important with the implementation of the Agenda 21.¹⁶ Viewed from an ecological perspective, parks as green islands or "lungs for the city"¹⁷ fulfil several important services for the urban ecosystem.¹⁸ Moreover "urban nature fulfils many social functions and psychological needs of citizens, which make urban nature (...) a key ingredient for city sustainability."¹⁹

Public parks have the potential to play a distinctive role in the post-modern city structure as they theoretically represent inclusive, non-consumption places. Most parks are public resorts and therefore equally accessible by all segments of society.²⁰ At the same time, parks have the potential to offer activities for all kinds of social-, age-, and ethnic- groups. The access to parks is generally free and no money is involved in activities that take place in parks. Furthermore, these activities generally do not include consumption in the original sense of the word "to destroy, to use up, to waste, to exhaust"²¹ but more moderate activities like sports, walking, chatting, reading, sunbathing, etc. In this sense urban parks have a high potential in delinking the seemingly closely interrelated characteristics 'quality of life' and 'material consumption of commodities' one the one hand, and in providing open and shared spaces for all segments of society and thus fostering social cohesion on the other hand.

For these reasons parks should not be treated like other commodities on the free market. In reality though, cost-benefit analysis play an important role in city planning.²² Cities are nevertheless not exclusively shaped by planners and politicians but also by the residents living in them through their daily spatial practices.²³ From the residents' perspectives parks can be

¹³ Cf. WOULDSTRA 2000

¹⁴ CLARK 2006: 6

¹⁵ CHIESURA 2003: 130

¹⁶ Cf. HANSEN & SCHRADER 2001

¹⁷ CONWAY 2000: 10

¹⁸ SCHIPPERIJN 2009: 14 & CHIESURA 2003: 130

¹⁹ CHIESURA 2003: 137

²⁰ Cf. WELCH 1991

²¹ FEATHERSTONE 1991: 21

²² Cf. HARNIK 2010

²³ Cf. DE CERTEAU 1988

viewed as "leisure centres without a roof"²⁴. "In fact, parks are the *original* when it comes to entertainment."²⁵ Despite this fact, visitor numbers of parks have generally declined steadily in the second half of the 20th century. Some authors argue that this is due to a lack of modern attractions.²⁶ "Theme parks and shopping malls are stealing the show from classic parks. Parks don't seem to meet the demands of today's society."²⁷

In the postmodern city with its various attractions, parks thus have to compete for users with other leisure time activities and facilities in the city.²⁸ Although parks have some unique characteristics like the provision of nature within the city, there are also alternative possibilities to satisfy people's needs for leisure and recreation for instance through home entertainment systems, gyms, restaurants, theme parks or shopping centres. "Because of this, parks must be very good-better than the opposition."²⁹

²⁴ CONWAY 2000: 15

²⁵ HARNIK 2010: 36

²⁶ Cf. WOULDSTRA 2000

²⁷ OPHUIS: 2002: 74

²⁸ Cf. WELCH 1991

²⁹ HARNIK 2010: 33

2 AIM OF THE THESIS

Against this background I want to analyse how parks can set themselves apart from other leisure time facilities in the city. Although the potential benefits of parks are broadly discussed in the literature, empirical studies that actually investigate the effective reasons for the use of a particular park in relation to its character are rare.

Because it is not possible to do an all-encompassing comparative study with various leisure time facilities in the city, the empirical research of this thesis will focus on the question of how parks themselves attract their users. Attraction will be measured through the actual use of the parks. Two parks which, according to their visitor numbers and popularity, seem to have managed to fulfil the task will be analysed: Mauerpark in Berlin and Türkenschanzpark in Vienna. The empirical study will be conducted from the user's perspective.

This work will show which elements of the case studies have an influence on their popularity and use. Moreover it will reveal the motivations park users have for their visits and how the experiences that they have in the park influence their future habits concerning the use of the parks. These results are essential to further investigate the question of how parks can compete with other leisure time facilities.

2.1 Research Question and Case Studies

RESEARCH QUESTION: HOW DO BERLIN'S MAUER PARK AND VIENNA'S TÜRKENSCHANZPARK ATTRACT THEIR USERS?

CASE STUDIES: MAUER PARK, BERLIN & TÜRKENSCHANZPARK, VIENNA

According to the National Science Foundation Workshop on Urban Sustainability localities for case studies should be selected according to the three criteria:

1. Livelihoods are at risk or are being sustained
2. Different outcomes have been achieved
3. Differences in economic structure, level and/or form of urbanization, social and cultural, practices, exposure to environmental risks and hazards, and political and institutional structures are present.³⁰

The chosen parks fit these criteria in the following manner: First, Mauerpark has undergone enormous changes since its creation and is currently under the influence of urban restructuring dynamics, including not only the neighbourhood where it is located but also the park itself. Türkenschanzpark on the other hand has not experienced serious changes and the surrounding

³⁰ Cf. NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION WORKSHOP ON URBAN SUSTAINABILITY 2000

neighbourhood is stable. Second, both parks show a very different character and purpose. The centrally located Mauerpark in an event park that attracts primarily young people and tourists while the peripheral Türkenschanzpark functions as a recreation and exercise park mainly for people from the local neighbourhood. Third, both case study parks are located in different cities and different countries and thus are under the influence of distinct economic, cultural, political and institutional structures.

	VIENNA	BERLIN
SIZE	415 km ²	892 km ²
RESIDENTS	1.7 Mio. (4/2011)	3.4 Mio. (11/2009)
FOREIGNERS	21.7% (4/2011)	13.79% (11/2009)
UNEMPLOYMENT	7.4% (2010)	14,2% (04/2010)
OVERNIGHT STAYS	10.860.126 (2010)	17.770.277 (2008)
STUDENTS	153.828 (09/2010)	135.327 (12/2008)
MAYOR	Michael Häupl, SPÖ	Klaus Wowereit, SPD
DEPTH	1.56 Billion Euros ³¹ (2005)	66 Billion Euros ³² (2009)

TABLE 1 OVERVIEW VIENNA AND BERLIN, SOURCE: STADT WIEN 2011b, MA 05 2011 & DER REGIERENDE BÜRGERMEISTER VON BERLIN 2011,

2.2 Structure and Methodology

In the beginning of the thesis the theoretical background will be given. First the relevance and potential of the topic will be explained by elaborating on the relationship between parks and inclusion as well as between parks and sustainable consumption. Then the importance of studying parks from the users' perspectives will be demonstrated by discussing the influence of residents' spatial practices on consumption and the shaping of cities. In the next step the connection between the spatial practices of people and the use of parks will be presented. Special emphasis will be given to the motivation for park use and the shaping of behaviour.

In the empirical part, the research question of how the parks attract their users will be explored and answered. Their attractiveness will be measured through their actual use. Initially the parks will be analysed by their history, size and location including a neighbourhood analysis, layout and facilities as well as management and maintenance. This will be done with the help of existing literature, maps as well as through observations and expert interviews with the bodies responsible for the park's management and maintenance. In this way, the parks' characters as well as the services and experiences that they provide will be demonstrated and brought into relation with the further analysis of their use. In the second step, the use (attractiveness) of the parks according to the different user groups will be examined by means of qualitative observations, semi-standardised user interviews and a discourse analysis on the description of the parks by users in internet forums. In order gather quantitative data a

³¹ Cf. ORF 2006

³² Cf. BZ 2009

questionnaire will be implemented. Finally, the results of the empirical study will be analysed and discussed with reference to the theory.

3 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

"Parks and open spaces are an old idea. Humanity is essentially gregarious and places in which to assemble were central to every community from the earliest times and in all parts of the world".³³ "And the greatest [parks], often become the very symbols of their cities, the central touchstones of memory and experience for residents and tourists alike."³⁴

3.1 Parks and Social Cohesion

*"Sustaining diversity in parks can be an important part of sustaining diversity in the city overall."*³⁵

As has already been discussed in the introduction, the post-modern city is a place of increasing spatial segregation and social polarization. These elements lead to an increasing alienation of different societal groups, social conflicts including crime and violence and a growing fear of the unknown. Thus the surveillance of cities and the amount of semi-private and gated private urban spaces is on the increase.³⁶ Exclusion however is not just created through physical borders and legal ownership, but also through the people who use the space. The perception of who owns a space will cause feelings of inclusion and exclusion amongst users:³⁷ "[C]ities are never given as an unalterable and transparent set of architecture (...) but are instead socially produced spaces that create social inclusion and exclusion..."³⁸

The shopping centre can be used as an example for a typical semi-public space in the post-modern city. Their use is connected to certain restrictions concerning, for instance, drinking, begging or playing loud music. They cannot be used as a forum for political or personal ideas like the distribution of flyers or the implementation of questionnaires. Moreover shopping centres are monitored with cameras and security personnel that make sure that users abide by the rules. In this manner, predictable and controllable spaces are created that answer to the desire of certain people for security and cleanliness - which they cannot find in the "polluted, congested, crime-ridden"³⁹ post-modern city outside. In this way, semi-public spaces can be regulated in a way that only certain user groups are attracted and feel welcome.⁴⁰

Public parks though are a public resource and access is free for everybody. This free access is important not only for low income groups but also for people who don't have a tight social

³³ WELCH 1991: 1

³⁴ HARNIK 2010: 5

³⁵ LOW ET AL. 2005: 198

³⁶ Cf. SOJA 1995, BAUMANN 2007

³⁷ WOOLLEY 2003: 2-3

³⁸ SCHOBBER 2004: 141

³⁹ NICHOLSON-LORD 2003: 4

⁴⁰ Cf. OPHUIS 2002, SORKIN 2000, CRAWFORD 1992

network. For them public spaces like parks fulfil an important social function concerning passive social contacts such as seeing and hearing other people and the positive experience of being amongst others.⁴¹ "Management should ensure that all can feel at home including those who feel inhibited elsewhere: adolescents chased out of a shopping centre; old people wanting a place (...) to sit, talk, watch the world go by, get a half price tea or make their own; teenage youths seeking a place to play a vigorous uninhibited game of football; the unemployed, ethnic minorities; disadvantaged groups like single parent families. To these the park may be their only accessible leisure resource. They should be able to feel at ease there along with all the others."⁴² In this way parks represent places for the encounter with the 'others'⁴³ which is an essential element of urbanity. As CORIJN stated „Urban life is exceptional because it is based on difference, on the plurality of functions, activities, and cultures, on the creativity generated by the encounter between strangers."⁴⁴

As inclusive spaces, parks bring together many kinds of people from different age groups and social classes. In this role they fulfil important functions for individuals as well as the community. They are places in which people can connect and interact in a shared environment. This is the precondition to develop social ties and increase social integration which helps to reduce prejudices and mistrust towards people who belong to different social and cultural groups.⁴⁵ Because "[m]utual understanding requires can only be the outcome of *shared* experience; and sharing experience is inconceivable without shared space."⁴⁶ It has been shown that urban open spaces are a means to foster social cohesion and can reduce antisocial behaviour and crime.⁴⁷ The city of Boston, for instance, made improvements to their public parks in the context of their 'Poverty Action Programme' arguing that outdoor recreational programmes aimed at young people would help "the development of positive lifestyles necessary to break the spiral of deprivation."⁴⁸

3.2 Parks and Sustainable Consumption

*"Capitalism must create a system of false needs in order to maintain the never ending need to accumulate capital."*⁴⁹

⁴¹ Cf. GEHL 2006, FIELDHOUSE & WOULDSTRA 2000

⁴² WELCH 1991: 13

⁴³ LOW ET AL. 2005: 2

⁴⁴ CORIJN, E. 2005: 49

⁴⁵ Cf. CHIESURA 2003, CLARK 2006 & FRANCIS 2006

⁴⁶ BAUMAN 2007: 92

⁴⁷ Cf. MADANIPOUR 2003

⁴⁸ FIELDHOUSE & WOULDSTRA 2000: 2

⁴⁹ FRIEDMAN 1994: 2

The predominant consumption patterns of modern western societies are unsustainable because they rely too much on finite resources and generate unacceptable environmental impacts.⁵⁰ There is a certain "antagonism (...) between capital's need for infinite growth and our collective survival on a finite planet."⁵¹ Although companies made huge progresses in respect to more ecological and energy efficient technologies and products, these successes are generally overcompensated through rising consumption levels- also known as the rebound effect.⁵² Therefore the global ecological problem is less of a technical problem but rather a consequence of "the high-consumption lifestyles and life-choices of a relatively small proportion of the world's population"⁵³. But still the western lifestyle is being promoted around the world and human wellbeing is still seen as closely related to economic growth.⁵⁴ It is true that the rise of the GDP of a country statistically correlates with improvements of variables like infant mortality or happiness, but this relation ends once a certain value of GDP is reached. First world countries have already crossed that line.⁵⁵ Thus, some authors emphasize the need for *degrowth* of the global economy; especially in the overdeveloped economies in the global North.⁵⁶ This is, however, not simply a question of more sustainability in the production process but also of the culturally shaped consumer behaviours.⁵⁷ As a result, the search for a clear alternative to the mass consumption society gains more and more attention, but despite "deep and probing criticism of specifics (...) no clear alternative (...) is present."⁵⁸

In any case, cities will have a crucial role to play in the development of sustainable consumption practices. By 2050, around 70% of the world's population will live in cities. Cities have always been places of social, cultural, economic and political innovation. Consequently cities have great power and responsibility and thus more emphasis should be given to them concerning their role in economic and social development.⁵⁹ DODMAN and SATTERTHWAITE emphasize that "well-planned and governed cities are central to delinking a high quality of life from high levels of consumption...."⁶⁰

In the search for new types of sustainable living it is important to avoid moralistic pandering about environmental issues. New ideas should not be forced in a top down process without considering existing social structures and power relations. It has been shown that goals in the

⁵⁰ Cf. JACKSON 2006

⁵¹ MUELLER & PASSADAKIS 2009: 56

⁵² Cf. SCHULTZ & SPIEB 2008, HANSEN & SCHRADER 2001

⁵³ DODMAN & SATTERTHWAITE 2009: 13

⁵⁴ Cf. BRAND ET AL. 2009

⁵⁵ Cf. COMMON & STAGL 2009

⁵⁶ Cf. MUELLER & PASSADAKIS 2009

⁵⁷ Cf. HANSEN & SCHRADER 2001

⁵⁸ CLARK 2004: 20-21

⁵⁹ Cf. DODMAN & SATTERTHWAITE 2009, HODSON & MARVIN 2009, HOORNWEG & BHADA 2009

⁶⁰ DODMAN & SATTERTHWAITE 2009: 13

field of sustainability have to be tackled on the macro and on the micro level. It is not possible to shrug off individual responsibility to deficits of the global economic and social system.⁶¹ Individuals have a huge influence on global issues through their daily consumption decisions; they have a certain authority through their power of demand and can enact behavioural changes:⁶² "The consumer drives the modern economy."⁶³

One could argue that the legitimacy of people's interest in prosperity and the satisfaction of their needs also have to be acknowledged as they represent the economical dimension of sustainability.⁶⁴ However, it also has to be considered that "[m]aterial aspirations don't necessarily deliver well-being."⁶⁵ It is even conceivable that sustainable development is possible under a stable or even higher quality of life. SOPER introduces the concept of 'alternative hedonism' which proposes that the most likely motivating forces that can initiate a shift towards a more sustainable economic order are new forms of desire instead of fears of negative ecological consequences and disasters.⁶⁶ Consequently the development of "[a]lternative and attractive forms of living, producing and exchanging (...) and alternative identities are necessary, as well as possible."⁶⁷

It has to be considered, as consumption choices generally get more complex in the field of sustainable consumption⁶⁸, that it is essential to downscale sustainability issues to the concrete operation level and to introduce practical steps. In order to develop sustainable forms of consumption that fit into people's everyday life and which meet their demands and needs, it is necessary to take the consumer's perspective and explore their orientations, attitudes, routines and everyday life practices.⁶⁹ "Focusing on everyday life from a (...) consumer perspective (...) has great potential for the development of sustainability strategies that meet the various demands and needs of different and socially embedded consumers."⁷⁰ As shown in the introduction, parks have the potential for providing places where sustainable consumption practices take place.

⁶¹ Cf. HANSEN & SCHRADER 2001, BRAND ET AL. 2009, SCHULTZ & SPIESS 2008

⁶² Cf. MOSER 2006, SCHOENHEIT 2001, HANSEN & SCHRADER 2001

⁶³ CLARK 2004: 20

⁶⁴ Cf. SCHOENHEIT 2001

⁶⁵ JACKSON 2006: 1

⁶⁶ Cf. HANSEN & SCHRADER 2001, SOPER 2009

⁶⁷ BRAND ET AL. 2009: 14

⁶⁸ REMARK: An aspect of sustainable consumption is reducing consumption in general, thus avoidance of consumption is part of sustainable consumption practices

⁶⁹ Cf. SCHULTZ & SPIESS 2008, HANSEN & SCHRADER 2001, BRAND ET AL. 2009, SCHOENHEIT 2001

⁷⁰ SCHULTZ & SPIESS 2008: 298

3.3 Individuals and Spatial Practices

The way in which people consume is closely intervened with the way in which individuals organise their daily lives⁷¹: "No aspect of everyday life has been left untouched by the arrival of the consumer society [including] the ways in which we spend our leisure-time; indeed, the very structure of daily time itself..."⁷² LEE even goes so far to state that "we can scarcely begin to conceive of a form of social life which is not organized around the consumption of mass-produced commodities."⁷³ Thus it can be concluded that the way we consume is a major element of our daily spatial patterns and if and how we consume is dependent on how we structure our days and spend our leisure time: When we meet friends, do we meet them in the shopping centre or in the park? This decision will not just influence what we consume, but will also have an impact on the city we live in. As has been shown, for example by DE CERTEAU, the way in which cities are shaped is not exclusively decided by planners and politicians, but also by the people living in them through their everyday practices.⁷⁴ "The contextuality of human activity means that urban space does not just 'exist': it is produced, reproduced and shaped in people's actions",⁷⁵ in commonplaces and everyday spaces as well as everyday activities for instance in parks, streets or shopping centres.⁷⁶ HARNIK states that cities are "creatures of human free will and respond to people's desires for liveable environments."⁷⁷ In conclusion one can say that as cities are not static and urban space is reconfigured continuously, the development of cities towards more social and ecological sustainable places through everyday spatial practices is possible. For that reason, the position of parks in the daily spatial practices of residents will be pointed out in the following section.

3.4 Spatial Practices and Parks

As green spaces in the neighbourhood are usually further away than private gardens, people have to take a conscious decision to go there.⁷⁸ The following section will show how certain behavioural decisions are taken by individuals according to psychological concepts.

⁷¹ Cf. SCHULTZ & SPIESS 2008

⁷² Cf. LEE 2000

⁷³ LEE 2000: IIIIX

⁷⁴ Cf. DE CERTEAU 1988

⁷⁵ CLARK 2006: 9

⁷⁶ JAYNE 2005: 159

⁷⁷ HARNIK 2010: 5

⁷⁸ Cf. WOOLLEY 2003

MOTIVATION AND BEHAVIOUR

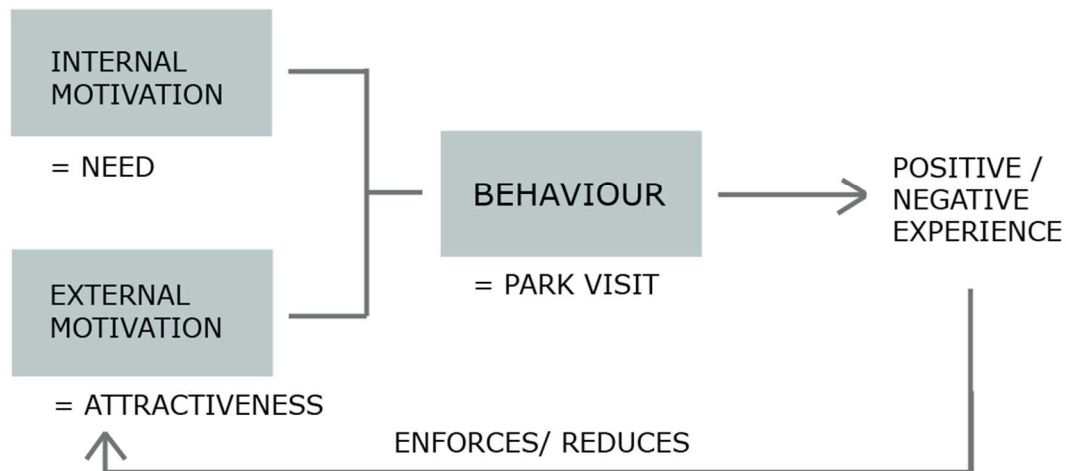


FIGURE 1 MOTIVATION AND BEHAVIOUR, SOURCE: OWN FIGURE

Human behaviour is closely related to motivation which can be defined as an activation or reason to engage in certain behaviour and to maintain it. Motivation also determines the direction and the intensity of human behaviour. Physiological theories distinguish two drivers: internal and external motivation. While internal motivation or need often has a physiological base, external motivation arises from the attractiveness of an environmental stimulus, like a park. Moreover, there is a relationship between internal and external motivation such that external motivation can often transform to internal motivation through preferences for products, services and situations. This is connected to so called "operant conditioning". Operant conditioning is the strengthening of behaviour through reinforcement. Benefits or positive experiences will lead to the reinforcement of certain behaviour, negative benefits or experiences to its avoidance.⁷⁹ A person who went to the park because of the internal motivation to find distraction and had good experiences will have the preference to satisfy his need for distraction by going to the park again. A person who had negative experiences might change his or her behaviour for satisfying the internal motivation to find distraction by going somewhere else like the shopping centre.

Internal motivations for park visits can be the need for distraction, meeting people or doing sports. The attractiveness or the character of a park will function as an external motivation. Positive experiences in the park will lead to more frequent park visits, negative experiences to less frequent visits. However, it is not easy to measure motivation since the relationship between environment and behaviour explained above does not just take place on the conscious

⁷⁹ Cf. EVANS ET AL. 1997, & KUB & TOMCZAK 2004

level but also on the subconscious level. People who use a green space are often not consciously aware of the benefits that it provides but rather they just experience them.⁸⁰ Consequently it will be difficult to measure the motivations when people are not aware of them. Thus in the following section possible attractions and positive experiences of green spaces as well as possible negative experiences will be considered.

*"Well managed parks can provide services that nothing else can."*⁸¹

The easiest reasons to measure are those where people go to the park and profit from its open spaces, its rambling layout or specific infrastructures to execute a particular activity. These include *sports and hobbies*, like jogging, going for a walk, playing football, table tennis, juggling and so on. There are studies that show a positive correlation between the amount of physical activities of individuals and the provision of green space in terms of distance, size, quality and features.⁸² Another obvious reason to go to the park is to walk the *dog* - the case study parks both have special dog areas. Parks are also places where to with *kids*. Some authors emphasise the importance of the experience of nature for the development of children.⁸³ Both case study parks are places where organized *events* take place from time to time including concerts and markets. An element of negative motivation would be to *escape* from problems of daily life and find distraction in the park. An important element of a park's attractiveness is their role as meeting places where visitors can be sure of seeing other people and are able to *watch* or *experience* something. This condition appeals to the "gregarious instinct of humankind"⁸⁴ or in the words of Jan GEHL: "Human activity and people are the greatest object of attention and interest."⁸⁵ Furthermore; public parks function as *meeting places* for the residents of the neighbourhood, for instance for barbecues or picnics, and thus contribute to the development of a sense of community. Frequent visits can lead to a feeling of *attachment*. The local park can represent a constant in the lives of people, especially for long-established residents.⁸⁶

Another attraction can be the *beauty* of the park and the experience of *nature*. Urban nature plays an important role for residents' physical and psychological well-being. Being in nature has been proven to reduce stress and aggression, support the enhancement of contemplativeness, and provide rejuvenation and a sense of peace and tranquillity.⁸⁷ These

⁸⁰ WOOLLEY 2003

⁸¹ WELCH 1991: 12

⁸² Cf. SCHIPPERIJN 2009

⁸³ Cf. FRANCIS 2006: 4

⁸⁴ WELCH 1991: 17

⁸⁵ GEHL 2006: 29

⁸⁶ Cf. CONWAY 2000, SCHIPPERIJN 2009, FRANCIS 2006, CLARK 2006

⁸⁷ Cf. CHIESURA 2003, CONWAY 2000

effects are caused by the positive impacts of the vegetation. The oxygen produced by plants, whose concentration can be twice as high as in urban areas without vegetation, has positive effects on mental performance and cellular health. The air contains less dust and pollutants. In hot summer days the climate in parks will be cooler than in urban heat islands. Light is needed for the production of vitamin D and a lack of light can cause seasonal affective depression. Looking at trees will lower heart activity and blood pressure within 3 to 5 minutes.⁸⁸ People visiting parks are usually not aware of these positive effects. Thus they will be summarized with "being in nature", "enjoying sun and fresh air" and "relaxing". Nature is furthermore a source of *positive feelings* to people like freedom, unity with nature or happiness. In this way it can fulfil "immaterial and non-consumptive human needs (...) and enrich human life with meanings and emotions".⁸⁹ Indeed, a study of the University College in London has suggested that people see nature in cities as *non-commercialized space*, as a "gateway to a better world-one that is un-commercialized..."⁹⁰ Another dimension which is difficult to measure is the impact of the park's history on its attractiveness. One essential element of a park's distinctiveness is related to its particular *history*.⁹¹ It has been shown that the city does not just consist of a functional dimension, but also of a symbolic dimension.⁹² The first parks were already created in the mid-19th century as a response to the problems of industrialisation and rapid population growth.⁹³ "These layers of meaning brought about by time, history and the memory of the generations that have used them adds to the significance of parks."⁹⁴

Finally, it is important to consider that parks do not just have attributes that attract people, but there are also restrictions to park visits and negative park experiences. Constraints on the visit of a park could be bad *weather*, a lack of *time*, the large *distance* or the deficient *accessibility* of a park. Negative park experiences can be caused by *crowding effects*, *conflicts* between different user groups or the perception of the park as a *dangerous* space.⁹⁵

3.5 Individuals and Park Use

When analysing the use of parks it is necessary to emphasize that the different park users cannot be considered as a consistent group. Each user shows a different perception, different needs, interests and uses⁹⁶ "for park users are individuals each of whom brings their own

⁸⁸ Cf. NICHOLSON-LORD 2003

⁸⁹ CHIESURA 2003: 129 & 136

⁹⁰ NICHOLSON-LORD 2003: 20

⁹¹ Cf. FIELDHOUSE & WOULDSTRA 2000

⁹² Cf. BARTHES 1997

⁹³ Cf. CONWAY 2000

⁹⁴ CONWAY 2000: 12

⁹⁵ Cf. SCHIPPERIJN 2009

⁹⁶ Cf. GOBSTER 2002, CHIESURA 2003 & CLARK 2006

world and needs when visiting.”⁹⁷ There are different individuals with different internal motivations and who have a different perception of the parks’ attractiveness (external motivation) and its value (positive and negative park experiences).

Theories on park use state that the use of parks is influenced by individual factors which can be viewed as internal motivation and environmental factors which can be viewed as external motivation. Individual factors depend on variables like age, gender, ethnicity, education or the number of kids. Environmental factors depend on its distance, size and quality or character of the park. The character of a park includes many variables like the facilities and potential experiences. These include aspects like nature, culture, history, quietness, safety, cleanliness, views or attractions like sculptures, artwork or water elements and so on.⁹⁸ RANDRUP ET AL. even developed a schema for quantifying the experience values of a park by identifying zones with different experience values. Nevertheless, more important than the objectively measurable features is the way that the environment is perceived by the users - their subjective experiences of the parks’ attractiveness:⁹⁹ “It’s not the acreage or park type *standard* that should motivate cities but the direct awareness of the *need* (...) And those needs should come from the specific citizenry involved, not some idealized citizenry defined by a university guideline or trade association standard.”¹⁰⁰ “Of vital importance is the wider public sphere, how ordinary local people understand and respond to green space, how they perceive and use it.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ CONWAY 2000: 11

⁹⁸ Cf. HARNIK 2010 & SCHIPPERIJN 2009

⁹⁹ Cf. SCHIPPERIJN 2009

¹⁰⁰ HARNIK 2010: 26

¹⁰¹ CLARK 2006: 4

4 METHODOLOGY

In the previous section the theoretical background concerning the use of parks had been presented. These theoretical assumptions will now be analysed with respect to the two case studies and linked with the specific characteristics of the examined parks. The attraction of the parks will be measured through the use. The attractiveness refers to the external motivation. The following questions will be examined:

Question 1: What characters and experience values do the case study parks have?

Question 2: Which user groups are attracted to the parks?

Question 3: Which park characteristics attract which user groups?

Question 4: Which negative and positive park experiences do park users have?

In order to answer these questions, method triangulation will be applied as each method focuses on different research objects. Qualitative and quantitative research methods will be included. Empirical research has been done in Berlin in February and June 2011, in Vienna in March 2011 and July 2011. In this manner the both case study parks can be observed in different seasons. Following a hermeneutic approach, the empirical surveys, containing semi-standardised interviews with residents, observations and a discourse analysis will have a rather explorative character and create qualitative data. The questionnaires and expert interviews, which will be conducted in the summer, focus on the verification of hypotheses using quantitative data.¹⁰²

4.1 Observations

AIM

The observations aim to document the different activities performed and user groups present in the parks according to different areas and different moments. Furthermore, the focus was put on possible user conflicts and the question of what people could like or dislike about the park: „The easiest and cheapest way of finding what people want is by observations (...) Regular observations will soon show what it is that the public admire; what interests them; which aspects of the service are failing; what should be changed.“¹⁰³

IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION

Unstructured, hidden and participant observations were implemented. The notes of the observations were taken both on site and in retrospective. In addition, pictures were taken to support the observations. In total Mauerpark was visited 17 times, Türkenschanzpark 12

¹⁰² Cf. FLICK 1998

¹⁰³ WELCH 1991: 77

times. The observation units took place during different weather conditions, different seasons, days of the week and periods of the day including the night. Most observations were done in the afternoon as the parks tended to be most lively then. As a compensation for the incapability of a universal observation, stories, existing pictures and videos of the park were taken into consideration.

Nevertheless observations have several restrictions concerning the generation of data. The limited time available restricted the observation of many events happening in the park such as the art festival and the Christmas market in the Türkenschanzpark or the festivities for the 1st of May in Mauerpark. As the two case studies are geographically segregated, it was also not possible to see them at the same times of the year. Furthermore, the observations are also biased due to the selectivity and objectivity of perception of each individual.

4.2 Interviews

CONCEPTION AND SAMPLE

In the empirical research process, user interviews as well as expert interviews were implemented. Expert interviews were conducted with three different persons. The first one was with Mr Krüger, chairman of the association *Freunde des Mauerpark e.V.*¹⁰⁴ as the expert on the (changing) use and role of the park in the neighbourhood and the city including the political struggle concerning the extension of the park. The other two interviews were the responsible persons for the management and the maintenance of Türkenschanzpark and Mauerpark, Mr Schuster from the *Wiener Stadtgärten* and Herr Schläger from the *Amt für Umwelt und Natur Berlin Bezirk Pankow*.

The user interviews were conducted with random park users in February and March. Users of different age groups, gender, nationalities and life styles were asked. The interviews had an explorative character. The aim was to find out about motivations for park visits, appealing and repealing park characteristics, feelings and the role of parks in the daily life of urban dwellers.

IMPLEMENTATION AND ANALYSIS

The expert interviews were conducted as guideline-based interviews and took between 45 and 60 minutes. The user interviews were implemented as semi-standardised interviews and took between 4 and 15 minutes depending on the interview situation. The questions changed during the process. According to the interviewee's wish, the interviews were either recorded or written down. Afterwards they were transcribed content wise and translated. Additionally quotes were extracted.

¹⁰⁴ REMARK: Freunde des Mauerpark e.V.: The association follows the two main goals of the conservation and development of the biodiversity and the diversity of different people and uses in the park as well as the active political engagement for the completion of the park.

4.3 Discourse analysis

AIM:

The discourse analysis of user comments in the internet should show how the parks are described and perceived by the users on the internet. In contrast to the user interviews, these users take the initiative by themselves and write about issues that *they* consider important. Additionally these persons had more time to think about their statements unlike the users that had to answer spontaneously in the interviews.

IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION

Qype.com and *yelp.at* were used as sources. They represent the first hints for "Experience report" that someone will get when searching for the terms "Mauerpark" or "Türkenschanzpark" with *google.de*. For Mauerpark, 41 comments existed in German on *qype.com*, and 9 on *yelp.at*. For the Türkenschanzpark it is 10 on *qype.com*, and 9 on *yelp.at* till March 27th 2011. The comments on the websites were translated into English and categorized in a table. The comments were used to gather qualitative data, not quantitative. The user comments give interesting insights as they are often very detailed and encompass a wide range of aspects. The comments are often very polarizing because people mostly just make the effort to write a comment when they are either enthusiastic or angry about something. It has to be considered that the people writing comments are not representative for all park users, but they are mostly young people who use the internet.

4.4 Questionnaires

AIM:

The questionnaires focus at the quantification of the internal and external motivations as well as park experiences. Additionally they aim at revealing the relationship between certain user groups and their preferences. The questionnaires a template of the questionnaires and its operationalization can be found in the annex.

SAMPLE:

The *target group* of the questionnaires were all actual users. In order to get a simple random sample that's not biased the questioning took place on different days of the week, at different times of the day, in various areas of the park and with all user categories. As the visitors of Türkenschanzpark are demographically very mixed, the aim was to question all age groups equally. In Mauerpark on the other hand, the users are rather young and there is an upper age limit of around 50 years.¹⁰⁵ Thus the sample mainly contains users in the age categories 0-18 years and 19-35 years. The sample encompasses 200 questionnaires, 100 in each park.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. KRÜGER 2011

However, as the parent population of the park users is not known, it is not possible to state whether the sample is representative or not.¹⁰⁶

IMPLEMENTATION

The questionnaires were conducted in Berlin in the week between June 23th and 28th and in Vienna from July 5th to 11th. The answering process was attended personally to provide explanations in case of questions about the answering process and to point out questions that were unanswered in the first place. Older people were asked the questions directly, younger answered the questionnaires themselves. Depending on the users the questionnaire took 15-30 minutes to fill out.

In general the response rate was very high, in Mauerpark only three people refused to answer a questionnaire and most of the time people did not even ask how long the survey would take. In Türkenschanzpark the response rate was lower, especially amongst older people. On average every third person refused to fill in a questionnaire. Questionnaires were distributed respectively asked in German and English. In total ten English questionnaires were done in Mauerpark and two in Türkenschanzpark.

ANALYSIS

The data was entered into MS Excel in coded form and afterwards evaluated descriptively in SPSS. Frequency tables were generated for all data. In order to identify the determining reasons for park visits, means comparisons were conducted. The metric scaled data concerning the motivation for park use, park experience and importance of park characteristics were tested for correlations and significance.¹⁰⁷ Afterwards, the results were visualised with charts in MS Excel. For the illustration of the catchment area of the park, maps were created in Photoshop. The sample shows the following statistical parameters: In Mauerpark the sample encompassed many more young people, while the distribution of age groups was more equal in Türkenschanzpark. A gender balance was obtained in both parks. Concerning the nationalities of the users, Mauerpark shows a higher variety with 15 different nationalities, while the users in Türkenschanzpark were from 11 different countries.

EVALUATION

The collection of data brought about several problems. In Türkenschanzpark some people did not speak German or English and thus no questioning was possible. Amongst them were Serbian, Turkish and Hungarian people. Another element that caused bias is the issue that certain user groups were not addressed like walkers and joggers or people who were obviously looking for privacy, like couples or people sunbathing in bikinis. No surveys were conducted in

¹⁰⁶ Cf. PORST 2009

¹⁰⁷ Cf. JANSSEN & LAATZ 1999, KROMREY 1998 & BENNINGHAUS 1998

the dog zone as it turned out that many users exclusively use the dog area. Content wise, old people often did not use the whole spectrum of the scale but only the categories 1, 3 and 5. Furthermore, it was difficult to fill in the question about the highest education due to differences in between countries and changes in the education system over time.

5 CASE STUDIES: CHARACTER OF THE PARKS

In the following section the two case studies of Türkenschanzpark in Vienna and Mauerpark in Berlin will be presented. In order to have a comprehensive picture the parks will be analysed according to different dimensions. These include the history, location, layout and facilities as well as the maintenance and management. Considering the fact that “each city has its own structure, each [park] its own characteristics and each neighbourhood its own inhabitants”¹⁰⁸, the influence of the surrounding neighbourhoods of the parks is also included in the analysis. The analysis is based on objective information, personal observations and the park users’ perception and descriptions. The result of this section will be to identify the parks’ characters and thus the environmental factor or external motivation on which the park use (attractiveness) is dependent. This is the basis for the further investigation on which identified characteristics function as external motivations for which user groups.



MAP 1 LOCATION TÜRKENSCHANZPARK, BASIC MAP: FREE SOFTWARE FOUNDATION

MAP 2 LOCATION MAUERPARK, BASIC MAP: FREE SOFTWARE FOUNDATION

¹⁰⁸ SCHIPPERIJN 2009: 24

5.1 Vienna's Türkenschanzpark



PICTURE 1 TÜRKENSCHANZPARK, SOURCE: OWN PICTURE

5.1.1 History

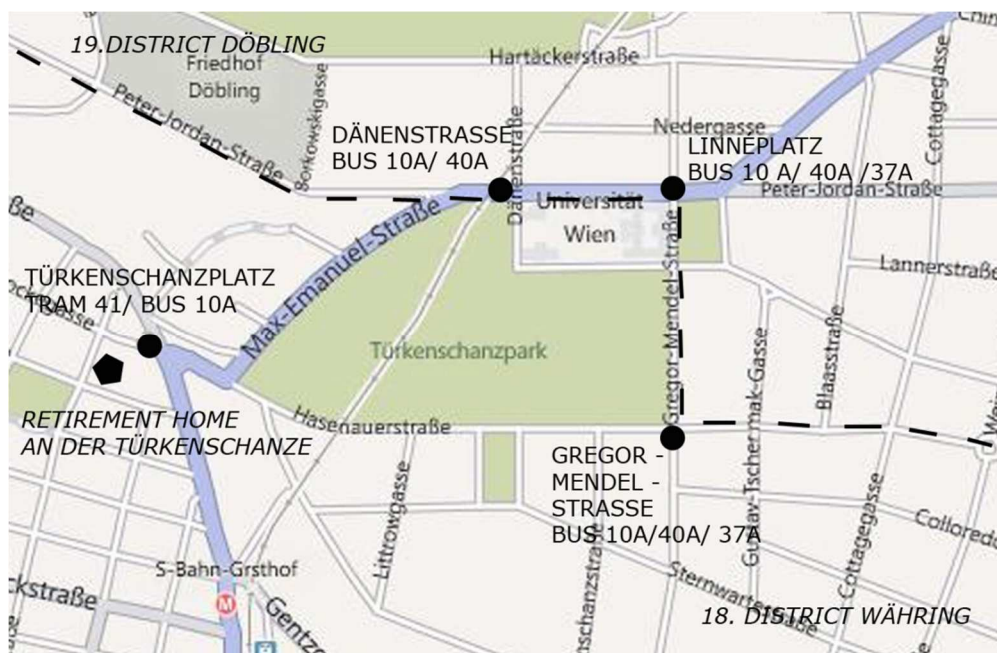
The name Türkenschanzpark dates back to the year 1683. At that time Vienna was beleaguered by the Ottomans who entrenched [German: "verschanzen"] themselves against the approaching relief troops in the hilly area where Türkenschanzpark is located today. This story can be read on information signs that are placed at each entrance of the park. Inside the park two memorials remind the users of the historical background of the area. First, the Turkish fountain *Yunus-Emre-Brunnen* which was handed over in 1991 from the Turkish ambassador as a gift and token of friendship between Vienna and Turkey. Second, the larger than life-size Cossacks memorial installed in 2003, which explains the contribution of the Hungarian army to the defeat over the Turkish at the second siege.

Türkenschanzpark as it exists today was realized in two steps. The first part was created due to private initiative and was mainly privately financed by the residents of the area. It was constructed between 1885 and 1888 and inaugurated as a *Volkspark*, a park for the people with a fair by the emperor Kaiser Franz Joseph I. In 1908, the city of Vienna decided on the enlargement of the park because of the diamond jubilee of the emperor. This second part of Türkenschanzpark was inaugurated in 1910. In 2013 the park will celebrate its 125 anniversary.¹⁰⁹

5.1.2 Location and Neighbourhood

Türkenschanzpark is located in the north-western part of Vienna in the 18th district, *Währing* and encompasses an area of 15 ha. To its north, the park neighbours the Pedological University *Bodenkundliche Universität*. Residential areas are attached to the west, south and east of Türkenschanzpark. The retirement home *Haus an der Türkenschanze* is located 50 m west of the park. Türkenschanzpark is fenced and can be entered through fourteen gates that are open day and night. The park can be reached by public transport with buses and tram; the next U-Bahn stop is however 2 km away.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. STADTGÄRTEN WIEN 2011 & AUTENGRUBER 2008



MAP 3 TÜRKENSCHANZPARK AND SURROUNDINGS, BASIC MAP: BING MAPS

The district *Währing* is a former suburb Vienna and was incorporated in 1892. It can be characterized as a rather middle-upper class district. This is visible in the *Cottage* neighbourhood, with villas from the 19th century which are surrounded by private gardens and the presence of several embassies, equipped with alarm systems and video surveillance. Nevertheless, the district also contains neighbourhoods from the founding period which are close to the Viennese belt south of *Gentzgasse*. Moreover *Währing* is a very green neighbourhood; 27% of the district is not developed and the population density is relatively low. In addition, the location on a hill provides the area with a good air quality.¹¹⁰ In the north-east Türkenschanzpark borders the 19th district *Döbling* which has similar socio-economic characteristics like *Währing*.

	WÄHRING	DÖBLING	VIENNA
POPULATION 1/2011	48.013	68.820	1.714.142
SIZE 2011	634,7 ha	2.494,5 ha	41.487 ha
DENSITY 2010 RESIDENTS/KM²	7.567,8	2.744,5	4.094,8
GREEN AREAS 2011	27.2%	48.2%	45.6%
FOREIGNERS 2010	21.4%	16.4%	20.7%
AVERAGE INCOME 2008	23.592€	25.329€	20.206€
UNEMPLOYED 2010	1.698	1.837	73.051 (9.5 %)
POPULATION 65+ 2010	18.8%	23.9%	16.9%
UNIVERSITY DEGREE 2010	23.8%	21.8%	12.6%
STRONGEST PARTY 2010	ÖVP	ÖVP	SPÖ

TABLE 2 WÄHRING, DÖBLING AND VIENNA IN COMPARISON, SOURCE: MA 05 2010 & MA 05 2011

¹¹⁰ Cf. STADT WIEN 2011 & MA 05 2011

83% of *Währing's* residents hold Austrian nationality which represents the Viennese average. Of the remaining 17% non-Austrian population, 4.5% are former Yugoslavians and 2% are Turkish. Other ethnicities that are strongly represented are Germans, Polish and Croats with a share of around 1% each. Furthermore, *Währing* has a higher percentage of residence that are 65 years and older and the percentage of residents with a university degree is twice as high as the Viennese average.¹¹¹ The fact that the park is located in a bourgeois neighbourhood is also reflected in the park's atmosphere: A retired lady stated: "Nothing disturbs me, there are also no people that would barge against you, or address you in an unpleasant manner; that doesn't exist here, it's a better district, a better park."¹¹² A teacher who brings her pupils regularly for sports classes supports the statement: "It's a nice audience; that's probably because of the area."¹¹³



PICTURE 2 TÜRKENSCHANZPARK SURROUNDINGS, SOURCE: OWN DATA

5.1.3 Layout and Facilities



MAP 4 TÜRKENSCHANZPARK ZONES, BASIC MAP: MONTMARTRE 2011

¹¹¹ Cf. STATISTIC AUSTRIA 2011

¹¹² INTERVIEW 31

¹¹³ INTERVIEW 39

Türkenschanzpark has been created with an alpine character according to the wish of the ruling emperor of the time *Kaiser Franz Josef I* who used to travel much in the pre-alpine regions. The terrain is very hilly and is largely covered with bushes and high trees, some of which are older than 120 years. In that way it is not possible to oversee the park as a whole but several separated areas exist, connected through entwined, asphalt paths. As a result, the park provides some open spaces in forms of four large and several small uneven lawns and a range of private, hidden places. Moreover there are several heightened locations from which one can have a view over larger areas. The biodiversity of the park's plants is very high. Due to the humid climate and improvements of the sandy soils, plants from different climate zones could be planted and several plants are namely denoted. Since 2006 Türkenschanzpark holds the status of a protected area.¹¹⁴



PICTURE 3 TÜRKENSCHANZPARK OVERVIEW, SOURCE: OWN DATA

All things considered, the state of the park can be described as well maintained. There is hardly any waste lying around and almost no graffiti or signs of vandalism can be observed. Beyond the toilets are clean and the doggy bags dispensers are full. Also the state of the plants, recently cut trees and newly planted flowers evince the regular upkeep of the park. It is also well equipped with a range of information signs with the applicable rules, numerous signposts on the crossings and overview maps of the park's facilities. In case of problems with bins or lamps visitors have the possibility to contact the responsible people directly via a service hotline.

5.1.4 Management and Events

Türkenschanzpark is owned by the city of Vienna and the responsibility for its maintenance and management lies in the municipal garden office *Wiener Stadtgärten*. Türkenschanzpark belongs to Garden District 6, which consists of the political districts *Währing* and *Döbling*. The

¹¹⁴ Cf. STADTGÄRTEN WIEN 2011, SCHUSTER 2011

head is Mr Schuster who has been in charge of this area for 13 years. The office is located in Türkenschanzpark itself. In total 33 people work for Garden District 6, half of whom are seasonal workers. In 2011 a redistribution of personnel had taken place in Vienna, in which the district lost 9 people. This is due to a reformation of the maintenance system for the Viennese parks which is now based on a quantitative maintenance system in which each measure has a certain time value per square meter based on international time standards. The parks are further distributed into 3 categories of maintenance (A, B, C) of which Türkenschanzpark ranks the most sophisticated care category A. This categorization is nevertheless contested for a historic park like Türkenschanzpark as it needs more maintenance than other category A parks due to its special needs like the cleaning of the 600 benches alongside the paths, the maintenance of the historical view axis or the upkeep of the ponds.

The budget for the maintenance of the park comes from the city of Vienna via the *Wiener Stadtgärten*, which pays for the infrastructure necessary to upkeep the park and the district *Währing* that pays for new purchases like the plants or play facilities. The budget for each garden district is governed by the head of the garden district. The general trend concerning the budget for the maintenance of Türkenschanzpark is that personnel as well as financial means decline.¹¹⁵

The maintenance of the parks used to be under the responsibility of the particular object leaders who could set the priorities according to their ideas. However since the year 2011, there are certain standardised regulations in Viennese parks for actions like the mowing, weeding and cleaning. Wishes from the public concerning adaption in the park can be introduced via the head of district. If the implementation is possible and the district is willing to pay for them the public ideas can be realized. The municipal body for public relations *Referat für Öffentlichkeitsarbeit* is in charge of the permissions for events in Türkenschanzpark in collaboration with the municipal council in charge and the head of district as well as the director. The use of all Viennese parks is regulated by the Regulation for Green Area *Grünanlagenverordnung* which forbids biking and barbecues, and demands that dogs must be on a leash and off the lawns. However these rules can only be executed by the police who in average intervene twice a year.

Some events and regular activities that take place in the park are summarized in the table "Events and Offers in TP" in the annex. They mostly have a social or educational aim. The two largest events in Türkenschanzpark are the yearly Christmas Market and the art festival *Montmartre*. The Garden District 6 is involved in the planning process of both events and defines certain conditions under which the activities take place. Besides these public events, Türkenschanzpark is also used for commercial interests like photographs and film sequences because of its special character and outstanding maintenance. This kind of use has increased

¹¹⁵ Cf. SCHUSTER 2011

in the last decade because of the improved maintenance of the park. Thus, 10 to 15 years ago 2-3 of these activities were held in the park while it was 13 in 2010, including 5-6 shots of film sequences during which one third of the park is closed and the possibilities for public use and recreation are restricted.¹¹⁶

5.1.5 Recent Developments

Concerning the infrastructure of the park, a big change took place in 1999 when the playground *Freizeitwelt* was opened that attracts today many pupils. Another important change that took place in Türkenschanzpark concerns its accessibility. Six years ago the park used to be closed at night by a private security company. At the same time a park guard was employed who controlled the park on an irregular basis. These measurements led to a decline in vandalism until the costs for the security company were higher than the costs for the removal of vandalism. These circumstances and the residents' desire to use the park outside the opening hours led to the general opening of the park and the abolition of the park guard.

When object leader Mr Schuster became the head of Garden District 6 13 years ago, he had a personal interest in the history of Türkenschanzpark and implemented several improvements. These include the restoration of the ponds, the reopening of the *Paulinenwarte*, the opening of the historical view axis and the restoration of the historical Alp gardens. As a consequence, the park became more attractive and popular. Mr Schuster claimed that he never met someone in Vienna who would not know Türkenschanzpark.¹¹⁷ Another hint for the popularity of the park is a survey (211 questionnaires, 154 answers) that was conducted in Vienna in 2004 in which Türkenschanzpark ranked number 4 of 35 of Vienna's most popular parks. The result is more striking when one considers that the study was only conducted in parks in the city centre and that the winning parks were located next to tourist attractions.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Cf. SCHUSTER 2011

¹¹⁷ Cf. SCHUSTER 2011

¹¹⁸ Cf. VOGEL 2004

5.2 Berlin's Mauerpark



PICTURE 4 MAUERPARK PANORAMA, SOURCE: OWN PICTURE

5.2.1 History

Berlin's Mauerpark owes its name to a remaining piece of the Berlin Wall [German: Mauer] which separated East and West Berlin between 1961 and 1989, had a length of 43.1 km and where 220 people lost their lives during the attempt to overcome it.¹¹⁹ In the park itself the user will not find information about how the area used to look during the Cold War. The remaining part is used today by graffiti artists from Berlin and abroad. On behalf of the preservation administration the painting of the wall is legal as it emphasizes the historical character of the wall.¹²⁰

The area where Berlin's Mauerpark is located has been used in multiple ways through time but has never been built on, beside others as parade grounds and freight depot. With the beginning construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961 the area became part of the border strip that separated East and West Berlin.¹²¹



PICTURE 5 MAUERPARK AREA DURING THE COLD WAR, SOURCE: STADT BERLIN 2011

After the fall of the wall in 1989, it was decided to turn the area into a collective park for

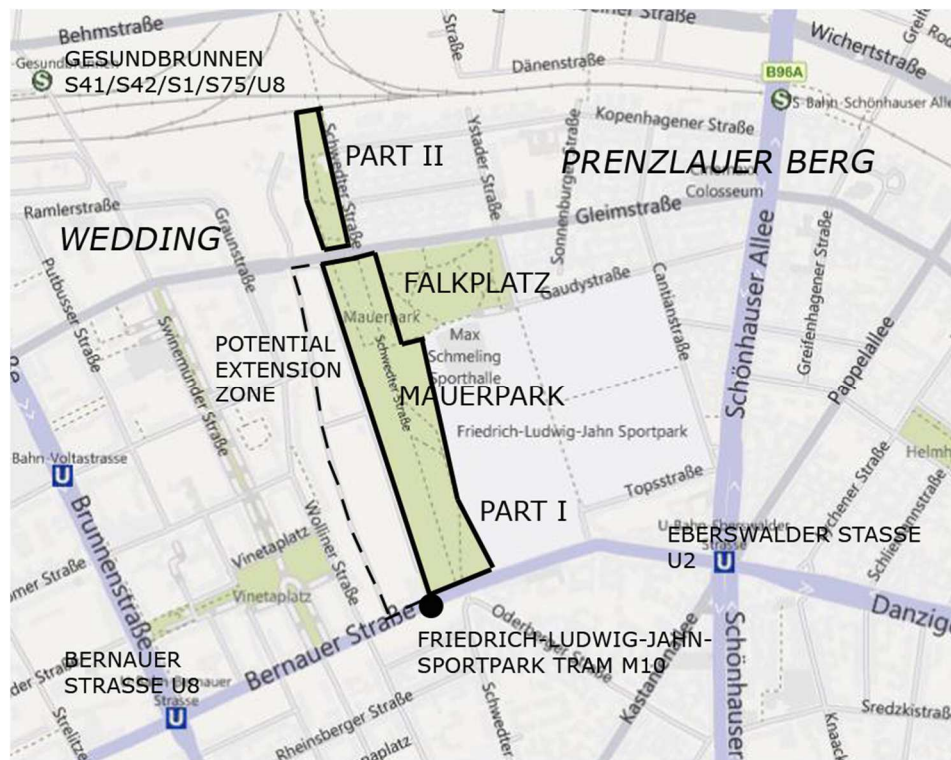
¹¹⁹ Cf. MAUERMUSEUM BERLIN 2011, REMARK: number is referring to the part of the wall between West and East Berlin

¹²⁰ Cf. SCHLÄGER 2011

¹²¹ Cf. ALLIANZ UMWELTSTIFTUNG 2009 & BEZIRKSAMT PANKOW VON BERLIN 2011

Eastern and Western residents as a place of encounter. The park was designed by the landscape architect Prof. Gustav Lange who put special emphasis on an open layout as a contrast to the densely built up surrounding area.¹²² The park as it exists today was constructed in two stages. The first construction stage of the park, containing the area from *Bernauer Straße* to *Gleimstraße*, emerged between 1992 and 1994. The environmental foundation *Allianz-Umweltstiftung* sponsored 2.3 Million Euros in 1990 for the realization of the park under the condition that it should have a size of 10 ha until the year 2010. With the realization of the second part, the park now has an area of 8.1 ha, half the size of *Türkenschanzpark*.¹²³

5.2.2 Location and Neighbourhood



MAP 5 MAUERPARK AND SURROUNDINGS, BASIC MAP: BING MAPS

The two parts of Mauerpark are physically only connected through a 15 m long, fenced gravel path that leads over the tunnel *Gleimtunnel*.¹²⁴ These characteristics give the impression that

¹²² Cf. SENATSVERWALTUNG FÜR STADTENTWICKLUNG 2011B & MAUERMUSEUM 2011

¹²³ Cf. GRÜN BERLIN GMBH 2011, ALLIANZ UMWELTSTIFTUNG 2009

¹²⁴ REMARK: On the ground level the parts are separated by a street. The second part is fenced in the south by a 4m high wall and is thus not recognizable as a park from the street level. The entrance is not denoted as Mauerpark. Furthermore the second part differs significantly in character from the first part as it contains a climbing wall and an educational youth animal farm as well as several play facilities for children.

this area is not part of Mauerpark. This observation is supported by several statements in user interviews and the discourse analysis. As the second part of Mauerpark does not seem to be perceived as such by many visitors it will not be included in the further analysis to avoid confusion.

Mauerpark is located in the north of Berlin in the neighbourhood *Prenzlauer Berg*, district *Pankow* and borders on the neighbourhood *Wedding* in district *Mitte* to its west. To its north and south Mauerpark neighbours *Gleimstraße* and then its second part as well as residential zones. To the west, it borders the public park *Falkplatz* and the sports facilities *Friedrich-Ludwig-Jahn-Sportpark*. South of Mauerpark is the four lane street *Bernauer Straße* and further south is a residential area. In the west lies an 11 ha sized area that is not developed and originally was meant to be an extension zone for the park. It is currently used by business enterprises, venues and stockrooms. Moreover the beer garden *Mauersegler* is located there and the popular flea market *Flohmarkt am Mauerpark* is held there each Sunday. Mauerpark can be accessed freely from *Bernauer Straße* in the south, *Gleimstraße* in the north and *Falkplatz* in the east. In the west the park is limited by a fence without gates, in the east by the Berlin Wall. The southern entrance can be reached by public transport via tram and U-Bahn. Approaching from the north the combined main-line, U and S train station *Gesundbrunnen* is closest.

	WEDDING	PRENZLAUER BERG	BERLIN
FOREIGNERS	32,46%	10,42%	13,45%
DENSITY	>10.000 persons/km ²	>10.000 persons/km ²	3.798 persons/km ²
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	14-18%	max. 10%	14,2% (04/2010)
DEVELOPMENT INDEX	very low	average	-
MIGRATION VOLUME	33 to 40 persons/year	33 to 40 persons/year	27.4 persons/year
DYNAMICS INDEX	negative	stable	-
RENTAL INDEX 2005	simple	simple/average	average
RENTAL INDEX 2009	simple	simple/average/good	average
POPULATION 65+	13,68%	11,24%	19,26%
POPULATION 18-45	45,44%	56,55%	39,00%

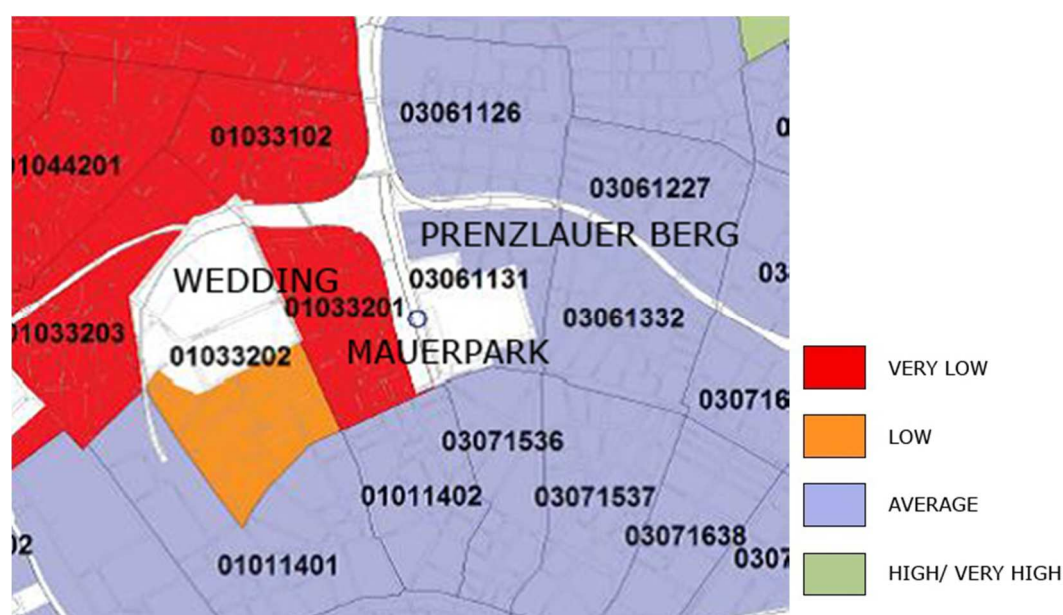
TABLE 3 SOCIO ECONOMIC DATA FOR SURROUNDING NEIGHBOURHOODS AND BERLIN,
SOURCE: AMT FÜR STATISTIK BERLIN-BRANDENBURG 2010 & SENATSVERWALTUNG FÜR
STADTENTWICKLUNG BERLIN 2011A

NEIGHBOURHOOD

The district Pankow has 363.601 residents (2008) and an area of 10.000 ha.¹²⁵ The neighbourhoods that surround Mauerpark are characterized by a very high density. The population is relatively young compared to the rest of Berlin; the majority of the population is

¹²⁵ Cf. BERZIRKSAMT PANKOW VON BERLIN 2011B

between 18 and 45 years.¹²⁶ When analysing the surrounding neighbourhoods according to their socio-economic data two areas with similar characteristics can be identified. The area North-West of Mauerpark in *Wedding* shows a high unemployment rate, a high percentage of foreigners, especially Turkish citizens and the number of people receiving welfare is very high and fast growing. The South-East around *Prenzlauer Berg*, on the other hand, has average unemployment rate and the percentage of foreigners and the number of people receiving welfare is below average.¹²⁷ In the development index of the city of Berlin *Wedding* falls into the category 'very low' while *Prenzlauer Berg* is 'average'. Moreover the dynamics in the North-West are characterized as 'negative' in the 'status and dynamic index' of city of Berlin while the South-East on the other hand shows predominantly 'stable' dynamics.



MAP 6 DEVELOPMENT INDEX, SOURCE: SENATSVERWALTUNG FÜR STADTENTWICKLUNG BERLIN 2011A

Both areas feature a high migration volume. However, *Wedding* sustains losses while the *Prenzlauer Berg* neighbourhood records migration gains. In addition, the unemployment rate is rapidly declining in the South-East and the number of people receiving welfare is rapidly increasing in the North-West. In the rent index of the city of Berlin several areas in the south, in direction of the city centre, were upgraded to 'average' or even to 'good' in 2009 while they were 'simple' in 2005. These figures show that a gentrification process is taking place in the area. This is also visible in the neighbourhood through renovation and development projects as well as in the appearance of trendy shops, cafés and the people using the neighbourhood. In the gentrifying neighbourhood *Prenzlauer Berg* "apartments with balcony and free view on Mauerpark"¹²⁸ are sold. A user described the difference between the neighbourhoods in the following words: "When you cross the tunnel [*Gleimtunnel*] you suddenly don't see enjoyable

¹²⁶ Cf. AMT FÜR STATISTIK BERLIN-BRANDENBURG 2010

¹²⁷ Numbers from the year 2008, Source: Senatsverwaltung der Stadt Berlin 2011a

¹²⁸ TROVIT 2011

hipsters any more, but some alcoholics, pensioners from the care home, allegedly unemployed youngsters with rudimentary knowledge of the German language. It is indeed a completely different neighbourhood compared to the hip *Prenzlberg* with its gastronomy, its intact families and the shopping possibilities at *Schönhauser Allee*.¹²⁹

The gentrification process also affects the use and popularity of Mauerpark. In the Questionnaires users valued the “experience *Prenzlauer Berg*” or that “the district communicates a different feeling”. Two long-established residents of *Gleimstraße* explain how the changing population leads to a different atmosphere and stricter regulations in Mauerpark:

She: “That was before everything here had changed

He: Barbecue was also allowed...

She: ...the whole population structure... one can notice that, that the structure changed and therefore also the regimentation...

[How would you describe the changes of the structure?]

He: Well, the *Gleimstraße* is meanwhile constituted to 70% out of owner-occupied flats, and accordingly also such a clientele is moving here... and they don't fit, actually they want to live in *Prenzlauer Berg* because they consider it cool, but somehow, they themselves are not that cool...

She: A friend of mine said that – and she's right- they bring something along from the place they came from, and when they came from the conservative South... then they bring that along, and they are not quite so easy-going...

He: ...and the general tone is also changing... and then one gets insulted for whatever...

She: Live and let living used to be predominant here, and now you have to watch out...

He: yes...

She: ...meanwhile it is not that liberal and laissez-faire any more but there are strict rules...

He: These are also the people who enforce regulations for the volume, here at *Falkplatz* and who forced through that there is no more barbecue there because it was too loud...

She: Or another example is the *Icon*...¹³⁰

He: yes...

She: ... the *Icon* almost had to close down, because a resident sued them...

He: It's a shame...

She: It's a shame...¹³¹



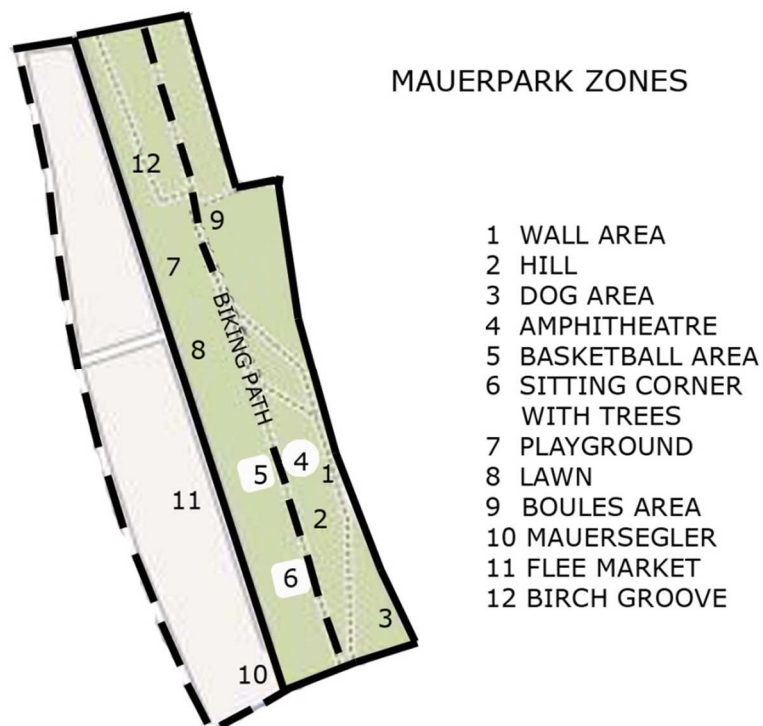
PICTURE 6 WEDDING AND PRENZLAUER BERG, SOURCE: OWN PICTURES

¹²⁹ COMMENT 26

¹³⁰ REMARK: *Icon* is a club for electronical music in Prenzlauer Berg

¹³¹ INTERVIEW 10

5.2.3 Layout and Facilities



MAP 7 MAUERPARK ZONES, BASIC MAP: BING MAPS

The architect Gustav Lange deliberately did not design the Mauerpark „as a cultivated ornamental park, but as a user park that is open to everybody and everything.”¹³² And consequently, Mauerpark today resembles less a park in the classical sense but more an open space.¹³³



PICTURE 7 MAUERPARK OVERVIEW, SOURCE: OWN PICTURES

¹³² ALLIANZ UMWELTSTIFTUNG 2009: 7 (ORIGINAL QUOTE IN GERMAN)

¹³³ REMARK: For further description and pictures of the park see Annex



PICTURE 8 GRAFFITI IN MAUER PARK, SOURCE: OWN PICTURES

The condition and maintenance of the park is rather deficient or “slightly rundown”.¹³⁴ The lawn has a lot of bald patches and “is meanwhile rather a soil area”.¹³⁵ The ground is generally covered with pieces of broken glass, bottle caps, cigarette stubs and dog dirt. Most of the installations, like benches, garbage cans, signs and even trees are covered with graffiti. The doggy bag dispensers are usually empty.¹³⁶ The lawn is destroyed due to overuse in the summer, especially on Sundays where the flea market and the karaoke show attract thousands of visitors. The overuse is also visible in the area around the amphitheatre where the extensive use has led to erosion of the hill. The intense use is also represented in the figure that the *Bezirksamt Pankow* collects 210 tonnes of waste in Mauerpark each year.¹³⁷ Generally it can be stated that Mauerpark is a lot more beautiful in summer than in winter when it is just grey and stark.

5.2.4 Management and Events

In charge of the maintenance of Mauerpark is the Department for Environment and Nature of *Pankow* with Mr Schläger as head. The personnel who are responsible for all green areas in the whole district number around 180 people, including seasonal workers. For the gardening works in Mauerpark three persons are in charge. Additionally nine people have to be employed for the cleaning of Mauerpark each Monday. The district *Pankow* gets a certain budget from the senate administration of the city of Berlin which is calculated with a cost-benefit analysis based on the amount green areas that each district owns. The politicians of the district will decide within the framework of their responsibility how the budget will be distributed within the district. The general trend is, like in Vienna, that the budget is declining. This trend in combination with rising cost and an aging personnel leads to the situation where the district is able to guarantee for the safety of the parks concerning trees, playground, paths, etc. but not for additional services like cleanliness.

The maintenance of Mauerpark has to be performed in collaboration with its original designer Prof. Lange. Requests of citizens or organisations can be directed to the mayor, representatives or the office for nature and environment. Such requests led for instance to the installation of

¹³⁴ COMMENT 7

¹³⁵ COMMENT 30

¹³⁶ INTERVIEW 12

¹³⁷ Cf. SCHLÄGER 2011

the dog area. Berlin has an overall guideline, *Grünanlagengesetz*, for the use of all green spaces which are executed by the regulatory agency *Ordnungsamt*. These rules include the necessity to leash dogs and the restriction of biking. In addition each green space can have specific regulations that are result of a democratic process. In Mauerpark it is allowed to barbecue and ride bikes on the path. Users also state that the regulatory agency controls are less frequent in Mauerpark than in other parks. Barbecuing on the neighbouring *Falkplatz* has recently been forbidden due to complains of neighbouring residents about noise and smoke. Moreover painting the remaining piece of the Berlin Wall is officially allowed in Mauerpark.¹³⁸

Mauerpark is frequently used for events, both planned and spontaneous. Larger events need an application for special use which is decided by the Department Head of the Office for Environment and Nature. These events include, for instance, *Drachensteigen*, *Fête de la musique*, *Walpurgisnacht*. "Actually the park has only to do with recreation in the deepest winter, in summer is resembles more a stationary festival."¹³⁹ The Flea market *Flohmarkt am Mauerpark*, "a pretty huge flea market where you feel like you are in Kairo"¹⁴⁰, opened in 2004 and takes place each Sunday of the year from 8 am to 2 pm. Over time it became more popular and is mentioned in each city guide. This is followed by high visitor numbers even on rainy days or freezing days and rising prices. Additionally there is a Karaoke Show each Sunday afternoon in summer. The Irish *Joe Hatchiban* started the karaoke in spring 2009. Since then it became a frequent event that attracts more people than the amphitheatre can absorb.¹⁴¹ Besides the organised events, there are also several spontaneous events, like concerts, jam sessions and artists performing. Mauerpark is also a political space; it is a hotspot for riots on 1. of Mai.¹⁴²



PICTURE 9 EVENTS IN MAUER PARK, SOURCE: OWN PICTURES

5.2.5 Recent Developments

As has been mentioned before, Mauerpark has not been completed yet. The remaining section encompasses around 11 ha and is located west of the park in the neighbourhood *Wedding*, district *Mitte*. The area was declared as green areas in the land use plan. Due to limited financial means the city decided to sell the land in 1999 to the real estate development

¹³⁸ CF. SCHLÄGER 2011

¹³⁹ COMMENT 32

¹⁴⁰ COMMENT 17

¹⁴¹ BÜCHNER 2009

¹⁴² COMMENT 38

association *Vivico Real Estate GmbH* that currently rents the area out to contractors. While citizens' initiatives advocate for the originally planned extension of the park and fear a restricted view, conflicts with the future neighbours and growing restrictions in case of the development of the area, the property owner as well as the federal state government and the district *Mitte* favour the development of half of the area, namely the area north of the tunnel *Gleimtunnel* and areas in the south, neighbouring *Bernauer Straße*.¹⁴³

The existing part of Mauerpark has undergone several changes in its function and popularity since its creation. Before 2005 the park's vegetation wasn't fully developed yet. It had the rough character of a wasteland and was dry and stony. It couldn't really fulfil a recreational function and was relatively unpopular. Thus Mauerpark was a place where young people, especially subcultures and left-wing people met to socialize, drink, have camp fires, etc.: "it was a free space where nobody disturbed them".¹⁴⁴ A user stated: "Mauerpark used to be different 8 years ago. It was a meeting place for many interesting people, there were less families, generally less people and also less police controls (...) You didn't have all these small groups, there were generally larger groups gathering, there was more exchange between the people (...) I met people there that influenced my life fundamentally that opened my mind, people with interesting ideas (...) it was a very life-affirming place."¹⁴⁵

This changed in the year 2005, where Berlin was under the influence of a wet summer. As a consequence, the vegetation grew, the lawns turned green and Mauerpark became more beautiful. The flea market, which had opened in 2004 and the opening of the beer garden *Mauersegler* contributed to the park's growing popularity: "this experience of experiencing freedom together in a public green area, not commercially, without any restrictions [comment: music and painting allowed], this experience grew correlated with the development of the park vegetation..."¹⁴⁶ Mauerpark became a flagship for the city as the "openness of the city of Berlin is reflected in the park."¹⁴⁷ Thus the park is also a tourist attraction which is promoted by the city. Since 16.01.2011 Mauerpark has 10.000 *facebook* friends and is actively competing with NY's Central Park for being the most popular park. It is nothing special to see people with professional single lens reflex camera or filming.¹⁴⁸ In this context more and more events are allowed in the park, which is contested by experts as the park shows signs of overuse and the events represent a privatisation of public space.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴³ Cf. BEZIRKSAMT MITTE VON BERLIN 2010A

¹⁴⁴ KRÜGER 2011

¹⁴⁵ INTERVIEW 46

¹⁴⁶ KRÜGER 2011

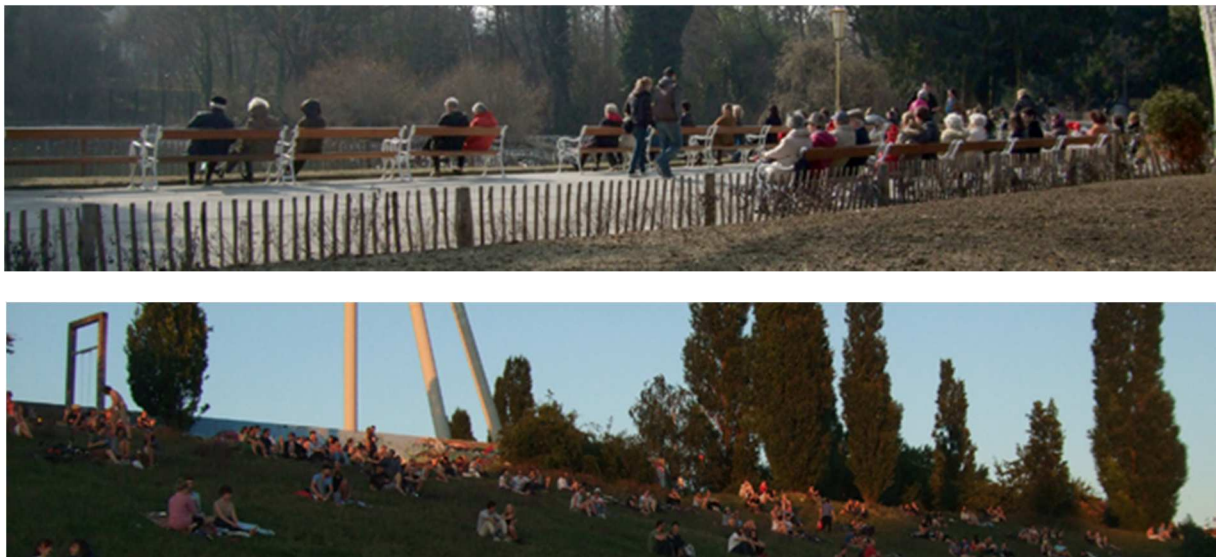
¹⁴⁷ KRÜGER 2011

¹⁴⁸ Cf. VISITS 6, 8

¹⁴⁹ Cf. KRÜGER 2011

5.3 Comparison of the Parks' Characters

As has been shown above Mauerpark and Türkenschanzpark have very different characters, based on their different history, location, layout and management. While Türkenschanzpark is a relatively old park which is located in a rather peripheral district in Vienna, Mauerpark is younger and positioned more central, "in the heart of Berlin"¹⁵⁰. Türkenschanzpark is located in a middle/upper class neighbourhood that is relatively stable, while Mauerpark lies in between two neighbourhoods with polarizing socio-economic conditions which are under the influence of urban restructuring processes. Additionally the discussion concerning the enlargement of the park contributes to the unrest. This stability of *Währing*, and the changes in *Prenzlauer Berg* have impacts on the use of the case study parks. Türkenschanzpark has a very "park-like" character with its old trees and intertwined paths while Mauerpark resembles more an open space with the hill as view point. Moreover Türkenschanzpark is better maintained than Mauerpark as Vienna provides more resources for public green areas than Berlin. Also Mauerpark is generally more popular and thus more used, also by tourists. On the other hand the efforts undertaken in Türkenschanzpark demand certain regulations and limit the use for instance in terms of barbecuing. The rough use of Mauerpark gives certain freedoms to its users. Türkenschanzpark offers a huge variety of leisure and sports facilities while Mauerpark provides a free space that can be used according to the users' creativity.



PICTURE 10 MAUERPARK AND TÜRKENSCHANZPARK, SOURCE: OWN PICTURES

¹⁵⁰ COMMENT 19

6 RESULTS: ATTRACTION OF THE PARKS

In the previous section the question of the case study parks' characters, which represent the external motivation for visitors, has been addressed. In this section the users' perceptions and ratings of their importance will be discussed. In the first part, the different user groups that visit the park will be identified according to the time of use and the used park areas. In the second part, the internal and external motivations of the users are presented by investigating the reasons for the park visits, the activities and the most popular places in the parks. In the third part the park experiences, positive and negative ones, which will influence the further park use through operant conditioning, are discussed.

6.1 Attracted User Groups

The user groups will be described through their user behaviour, which is defined by the frequency of use, starting point of travel and company. Furthermore socio-demographic criteria like nationality, age, gender, occupation or income will be used.¹⁵¹

As has been mentioned in the theory, the catchment area of a park is dependent on its size and attractiveness. Both parks have a catchment area that is bigger than the city they are located in and includes visitors from other countries. However Türkenschanzpark is more used by people from the neighbourhood and the city than Mauerpark where 3 times as many people came from the city surrounding, another city or country.

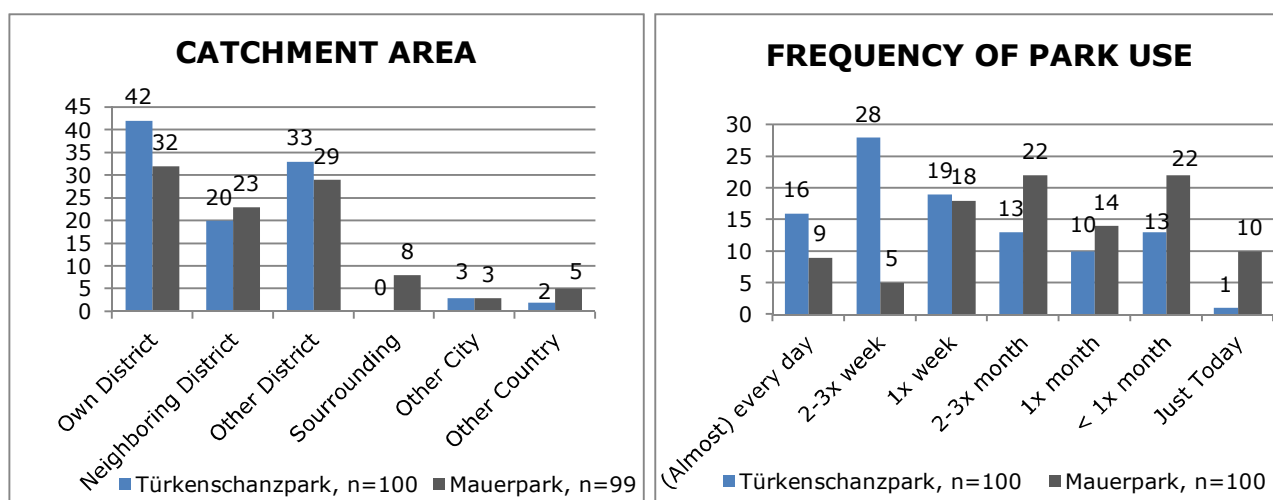
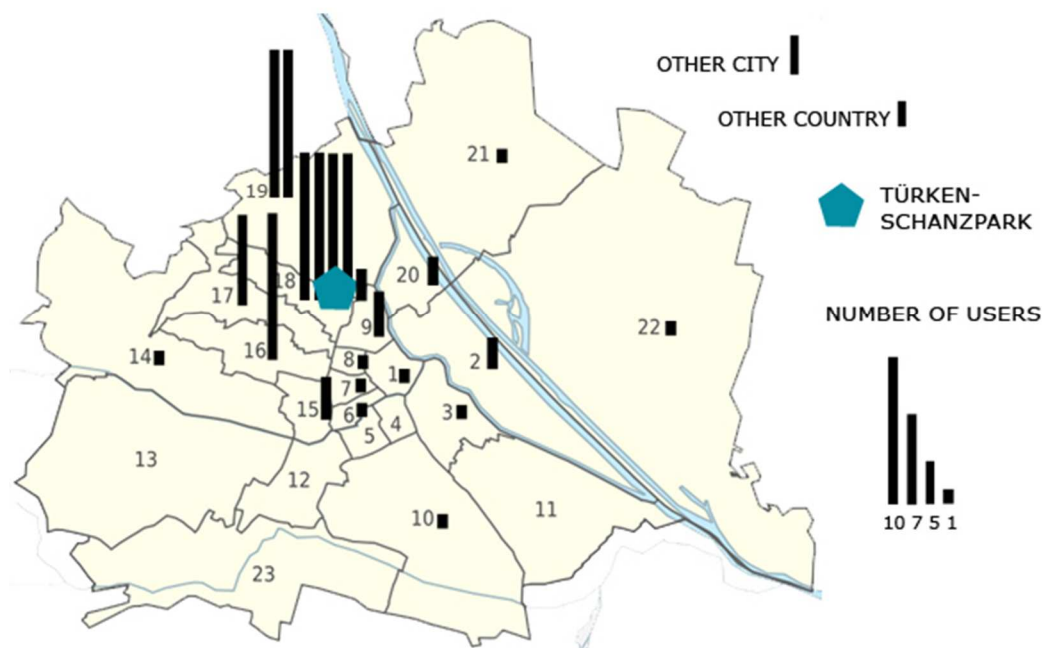


CHART 1: CATCHMENT AREA, SOURCE: OWN DATA

CHART 2: FREQUENCY OF PARK USE, SOURCE: OWN DATA

¹⁵¹ REMARK: All quantified data is referring to the sample of the questionnaires, not the parent population



MAP 8 CATCHMENT AREA TÜRKEN-SCHANZPARK, BASIC MAP: FREE SOFTWARE FOUNDATION



MAP 9 CATCHMENT AREA MAUER-PARK, BASIC MAP: FREE SOFTWARE FOUNDATION

When analysing the patterns of the park users it becomes visible that Türkenschanzpark is used more by frequent users, of whom only 14% visit it less than once a month. In comparison one third of Mauerpark visitors are infrequent users. In Türkenschanzpark users are relatively equally distributed amongst the age classes, 5% of users are older than 81 years. This is also reflected in the professions of users of which one third are retired. Mauerpark on the other hand is mainly used by young people, 88% of the sample are younger than 36 years. The largest part of users is students, followed by pupils. According to the high percentage of pupils and students in both parks, the financial means of users are rather limited. In Türkenschanzpark 15% of the questioned users had young children, in Mauerpark it was 10%. The results also show that Mauerpark is mostly visited with friends, in Türkenschanzpark around one third goes there with the family or alone. In the sample 80% of Türkenschanzpark users were Austrian and 8% German. The remaining 12 people came mostly from Eastern European countries. In Mauerpark 76% of the residents hold the German nationality, 6% are Turkish. The other 18% are from 13 different countries.

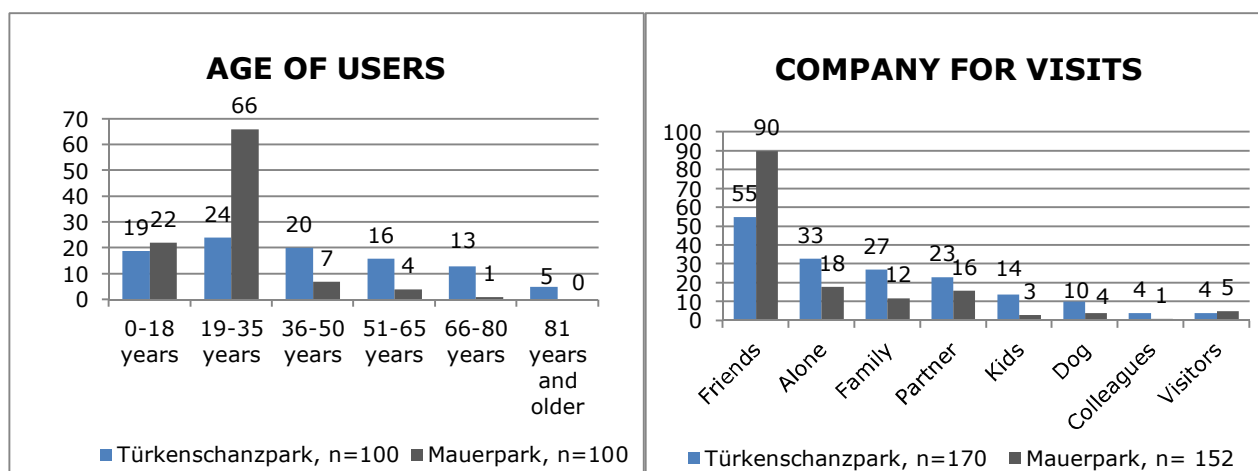


CHART 3 AGE OF USERS, SOURCE: OWN DATA
CHART 4 COMPANY FOR VISITS, SOURCE: OWN DATA

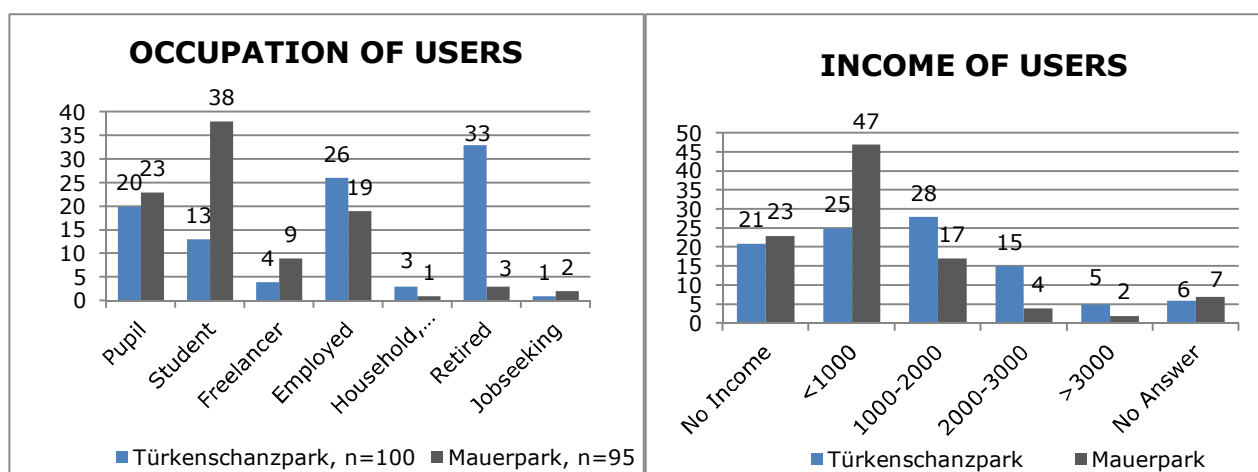


CHART 5 OCCUPATION OF USERS, SOURCE: OWN DATA
CHART 6 INCOME OF USERS, SOURCE: OWN DATA

6.1.1 User Groups and Spatial Patterns

TÜRKENSCHANZPARK

In Türkenschanzpark the different user groups tend to cluster in certain areas. The area around the ponds in the west is dominated by the group of retirees which can be attributed to the proximity of the retirement home and the location of the restaurant *Mayerei*. Several people have restricted mobility and use canes, walkers or wheelchairs. The northernmost lawn which neighbours *Bodenkundliche Universität* is dominated by younger people; especially students who use the park in between breaks.¹⁵² In the fenced playground parents and grandparents with their younger children predominate. Here, one can frequently find kindergarten groups, as distinguished by their neon-yellow waistcoats.

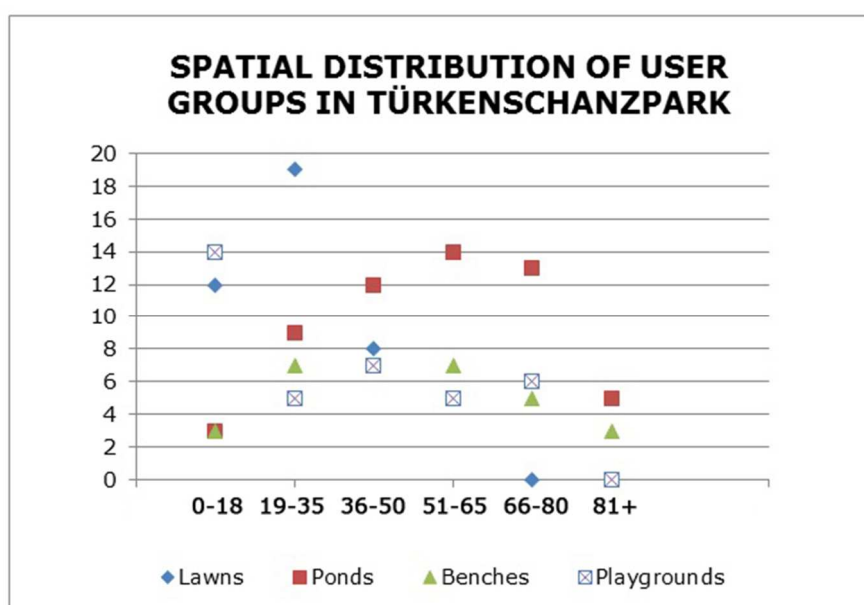


CHART 7 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF USER GROUPS IN TÜRKENSCHANZPARK, SOURCE: OWN DATA

In the open playground *Freizeitwelt* a broad public including younger children and their parents or grandparents, pupils and some students can be found. Frequently one can also see old people sitting on the benches and watching. The area is also used by pupils for sports classes.¹⁵³ The paved path is frequently used by joggers and people doing Nordic Walking: "No matter if it rains, snows or it's burning hot, you will always meet enthusiastic runners here."¹⁵⁴ The users of the two Dog Areas encompass dog owners from all age groups. The remaining park sections like the lawns or the benches along the paths are used by different age and lifestyle groups. Other user groups that are less visible and cluster less are immigrants,

¹⁵² Cf. Interview 34

¹⁵³ Cf. Interview 39

¹⁵⁴ Comment 16

predominantly Eastern Europeans some of which do not speak German. Graffiti in different languages gives evidence of the use by non-German speakers. During the questioning process some people who were inebriated in the morning or noon were encountered.¹⁵⁵ These persons are however rare, and do not exhibit suspicious behaviour. Moreover Türkenschanzpark is hardly used by tourists and if so they are mostly inconspicuous and accompanied by locals who show them around. From stickers and graffiti one can see that the park is used by people with a left-wing political orientation.

MAUERPARK

As a result of its open layout, In Mauerpark the spatial distribution is not as clear as in Türkenschanzpark. Nevertheless some tendencies are visible. As has been indicated before, tourists represent a large user group of Mauerpark. They are mostly recognizable through maps and by their behaviour of taking pictures. This group is especially present in the wall area. Lately, there are also professional tourist tours *Berlin on bike* that frequently pass through the park on *Schwedter Straße*. Another important user group in the wall area are graffiti artists or other people who paint the wall. The stone path that leads up the hill also makes the wall area accessible for people in wheelchairs.¹⁵⁶

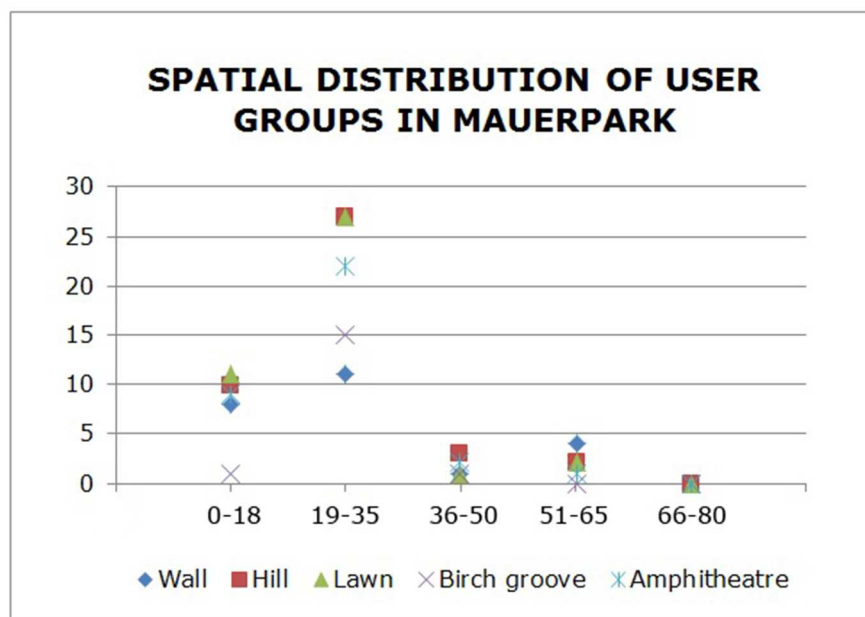


CHART 8 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF USER GROUPS IN MAUERPARK, SOURCE.: OWN DATA

Mauerpark's popularity begets the presence of professional photographers or film makers that mostly take position on the elevated hill. The influence of the gentrifying *Prenzlauer Berg* is

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Visit 6

¹⁵⁶ Visit 8

visible in the park through yuppies and hipsters. The park is also used by artists like musicians, acrobats, dancers or jugglers who mainly use the lawn. People who do barbecues cluster in the northern part of the lawn and the birch grove. Here many Turkish families can be found:

„While there is usually an invisible cultural, financial and lingual border alongside the former wall area- between these in all respects extremely different districts and while one usually never sees citizens from non-EU countries on the streets of the rich *Prenzlauer Berg* and if so because they are cleaning the fully rehabilitated pre-WWII residential buildings- everything gets properly intermixed on sunny week-ends and a bit down-to-earth, Arab flair finds its way into *Bionade*-country.“¹⁵⁷

Mauerpark is also a place for social outcasts:

“*Youngster 1*: Sometimes you have these people here that are out of their mind, people that run through here and shout at people, (...) there is the woman who always insults people, she has a torrent syndrome; there is this guy who takes LSD (...) *Youngster 3*: there was this man (...) when he is whispering you can hear him on the other end of Mauerpark (...) and this strange Scottish guy ...”¹⁵⁸

During the empirical study several of these cases were observed, for instance a homeless sleeping in a niche while it was raining¹⁵⁹ or a man with a skinned face who wanted to fill out a questionnaire but had to give up because he was too drunk.¹⁶⁰ Just like in Türkenschanzpark graffiti and stickers imply that the park is used by people with left-wing political orientation. Thus one can see many users who belong to subcultures like hippies and punks. The walking of dogs is not just limited to the dog area but spread out in the whole park. Children and families also use the park and can be found in various locations. Mauerpark is also visited by kindergarten groups or school classes.¹⁶¹ One will see few elderly people or joggers though. Moreover, on event days there will be deposit bottle collectors, people who do surveys, sell subscriptions or distribute newspapers.

6.1.2 User Groups and Temporal Patterns

Both parks show several differences concerning user groups and use during the year with the changing seasons, but also during the week and the time of the day.

TÜRKENSCHANZPARK

In winter and during bad weather conditions Türkenschanzpark is regularly frequented by people going for a walk- alone or with a dog or a baby, joggers, youngsters playing basketball, garden workers of the *Wiener Stadtgärten* as well as by families. It is, however, less frequented by students. There is generally a noticeable difference between the semester and

¹⁵⁷ Comment 11

¹⁵⁸ Interview 14

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Visit 17

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Visit 14

¹⁶¹ Cf. Visits 8, 11

university vacation and summer and winter. The lawns are less used and less stationary activities take place. When comparing the user during a week, it is striking that Türkenschanzpark is more crowded on the weekends, especially with families with young children. Some elderly will avoid the park at this time. The difference between workdays and the weekend as well as between Saturday and Sunday is nevertheless smaller than in Mauerpark.

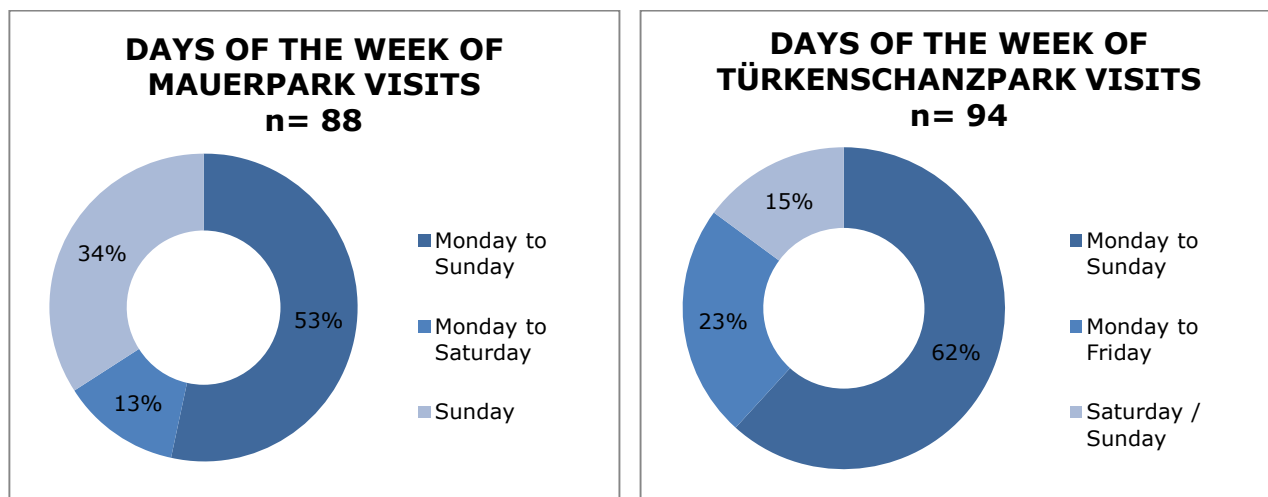


CHART 9 DAYS OF THE WEEK OF PARK VISITS, SOURCE: OWN DATA

The park also has a certain user rhythm over the course of a day. The first user groups in the morning around 6am are the joggers, followed by kindergarten and school groups. Around noon, groups of seniors visit the park and some of them to use the opportunity to have lunch at *Mayerei*. The *Boku* students will appear from noon on and revive the area until late in the evening. In the afternoon the children who came home from school come to the park, and afterwards the dinning guests of the restaurant. Joggers and dog walkers come in between. The park will get quieter at 9 or 10pm. Then it is mostly used by younger people who sit together in groups and drink. That the park is also used before 6am and after 10pm became evident in the years in which Türkenschanzpark used to be closed at these times when people complained about the restricted visiting opportunities.¹⁶² The nightly use is not always peaceful and can be seen in the next morning when a bench is lying in one of the ponds. One user reported that she once saw a homeless man installing his bivouac at night.¹⁶³

MAUERPARK

In Mauerpark the differences of the temporal user patterns are more intense than in Türkenschanzpark. During the winter one will find fewer users, but a higher variety of user groups and uses. In this period the park is more used by people from the neighbourhood, by parents with their kids but also youngsters. The use in summer is more limited to younger

¹⁶² Cf. SCHUSTER 2011, Visits

¹⁶³ Cf. Interview 37

people.¹⁶⁴ In winter and during bad weather conditions like rain, wind and freezing temperatures, the park is still used by certain groups like tourists, people walking their babies or dogs, artists painting the wall, joggers or people that are just crossing the park on *Schwedtner Straße*.¹⁶⁵

The use depends further on the day of the week with fewer users during the week, more on the weekend and a peak on Sundays were the flea market and the karaoke show attract thousands of visitors. Then one will see "singing, dancing, drinking, roaring, playing, walking people, as far as the eye can reach" and "on the lawn one can hardly see a green spot"¹⁶⁶. On Sundays and festival days, like *Fête de la musique* more families with kids and middle aged people can be found.¹⁶⁷

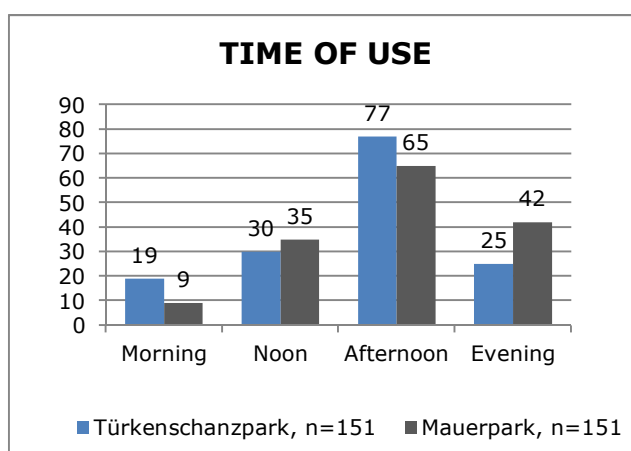


CHART 7 TIME OF USE, SOURCE: OWN DATA

In the morning one will only see a few people in Mauerpark including some joggers, graffiti artists, mothers with strollers etc. At that time the park is also used by elderly people, often in groups or by someone explaining how the area used to look like in the times of the Cold War.¹⁶⁸ The park gets more crowded towards the afternoon and on warm summer days the use peaks in the evening where a lot of young people will come to play guitars, bongos, diabolos, juggle, smoke shishas, lay in hammocks, play basketball and boules, have barbecues, drink, play hacky sack, football, etc.¹⁶⁹ Mauerpark is used late after sunset and some people will go there on their way back from clubs to watch the sunrise in the morning. Some users report about "weird people", "chavs" and "thugs" that would appear some nights and cause brawls.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Interviews 13, 2, 38 + Visits

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Visits 1-5, 17

¹⁶⁶ Comments 39, 38

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Visit 9

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Visits 8, 17

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Visits 12, 16 & Comments 12, 14, 37

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Interviews 1, 4, 14

6.2 Internal and External Motivations for Park Visits

In the following section the internal and external motivations for the use of the case study parks will be presented. The distinction between internal and external motivation is not always explicit. This is, however, not crucial as the users themselves generally do not distinguish the two either. Internal and external motivation is rather used as a structuring element.

6.2.1 Internal Motivation/ Satisfaction of Needs

NECESSITY NATURE

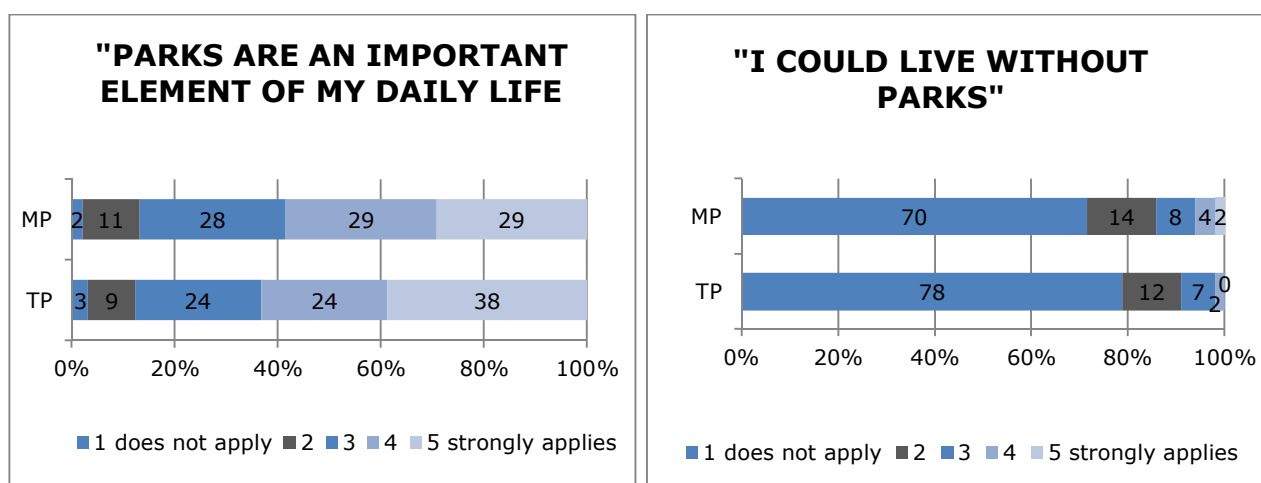


CHART 10 IMPORTANCE OF PARKS IN EVERYDAY LIFE, SOURCE: OWN DATA

CHART 11 POSSIBLE SACRIFICE CONCERNING PARKS, SOURCE: OWN DATA

About a third of the park users claim that parks are an important element of their daily life. Double the amount of users, however, denies the statement that they could live without parks. The bias in the answer of the two questions shows that although more than half of the users do not strongly consider parks as an important element of their daily life, they couldn't live without them. This demonstrates that parks are not just an *option*, but also a *necessity*: "I'd say they [parks] are essential for life, I realized that when I was in New York, when everything becomes too hectic and loud you need a park."¹⁷¹ The necessity lies in the function as an "oasis far away from rush and movement. A place for calmness and relaxation"¹⁷² or, like another user stated: "They are important for life in the city because otherwise the city will overpower you"¹⁷³ - which agrees with the number one reason for a park visit in both parks (relaxation) and the reasons why parks were originally created. Nevertheless parks fulfil more functions than relaxation and peace.

¹⁷¹ Interview 43

¹⁷² Comment 14 TP

¹⁷³ Interview 13

OPTIONAL REASONS AND ACTIVITIES

The internal motivations for the park visits will be revealed by analysing the reasons for the park visits as well as the favourite activities of the park users. The favourite activities were asked in an open question, the reasons in a closed one.

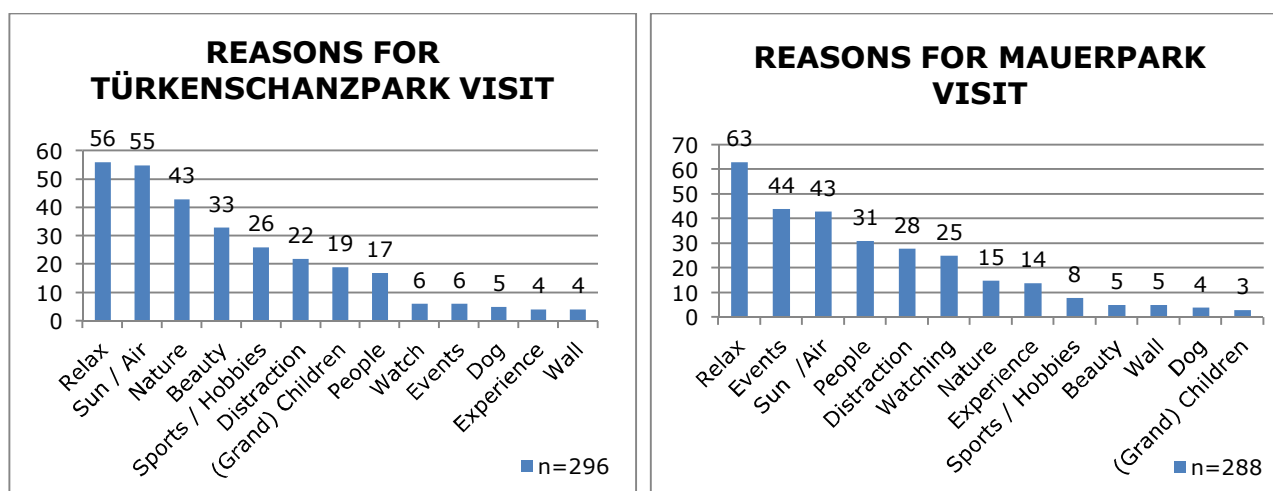


CHART 12 REASONS FOR PARK VISITS, SOURCE: OWN DATA

The users were asked to choose the three most important reasons for their park visit. In both parks relaxation got the most votes. Also rated high in both parks is enjoying the sun and the fresh air. Then, significant differences can be found between the two parks. People are visiting Mauerpark to go to events, meet other people, to find distraction and watch. In Türkenschanzpark, on the other hand, the reasons for a park visit were being in nature, enjoying the beauty of the park, playing sports, doing hobbies and playing with the (grand-) children.

RELAX/ ESCAPE / SUN & AIR

In both parks, relaxation and enjoying the sun and the air were in the top three reasons for visiting the park. The way of relaxing can be different though. In both parks the category Chill/ Sunbathe/ Sit ranks high, yet it has twice as many votes in Mauerpark as in Türkenschanzpark. In Mauerpark the main activities are socializing with friends and drinking, smoking marijuana watching other people and listening to musicians or watching the karaoke: "Sit around, jawing, tell who is in love with whom, gossiping, sometimes we play something, but well..."¹⁷⁴ In Türkenschanzpark people named stationary activities like thinking/reading/ learning or eating food at *Mayerei*, doing sports and going for a walk. Going to the park 'to escape from daily life' is evaluated equally in both parks with the explanation that one can go there when having problems, to catch a breath, to be alone, to leave all cares behind, to have some privacy or

¹⁷⁴ Interview 4

simply to think and walk.¹⁷⁵

MEANS	Relax	Sun/ Air	Distraction	Experience	Dog	Kids	People
TP	4,35	4,51	3,39	2,15	1,45	2,23	2,94
MP	4,22	4,00	3,46	2,94	1,21	1,23	3,37
MEANS	Sports	Nature	Beauty	History	Watch	Events	
TP	2,87	4,51	4,33	2,17	2,48	2,33	
MP	1,94	2,94	2,93	1,98	3,13	3,45	

TABLE 4 MEANS OF REASONS FOR PARK VISIT (SCALE 1-5), SOURCE: OWN DATA

NATURE/ BEAUTY

In Türkenschanzpark being in nature is a more important reason than in Mauerpark. This can be related to the parks' characters. Users emphasize the importance and effects of experiencing nature and the seasons as well as the absence of cars and the quietness.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, beauty is mentioned by one third of Türkenschanzpark users as one of the three most important reasons: "It's the most beautiful park that I know; although it might be small it's nicer than *Englischer Garten* in Munich or *Hyde Park* in London."¹⁷⁷ In Mauerpark only 5% mention it in their top 3 list, as "Beauty is not its trademark."¹⁷⁸ In accordance with these reasons, one third of the Türkenschanzpark users named going for a walk as one of their favourite activities compared to 9% in Mauerpark.

PEOPLE/ SOCIALIZING/ KIDS

In Mauerpark 'meeting other people' was mentioned by 31% as a reason to go to the park in comparison to 17% in Türkenschanzpark: "It depends on where the group is moving to each summer..., it's not dependent on Mauerpark if I come here or not but dependent on the people."¹⁷⁹ Both parks function as a meeting place for younger people in summer:¹⁸⁰ "In summer it [TP] is the main meeting place: come, sit around, have a beer, play in the grass, it's really important, it's like our own little garden."¹⁸¹ The function of a meeting place is not just limited to younger people but also applies to families or dog owners.¹⁸² For older people the parks do not fulfil this function. Negative correlations between the variables 'age' and 'meeting other people' were found in both parks. The socializing functions of the park include the activities like having barbecues, picnics or food at the *Mayerei*. Furthermore, the results show once again how Türkenschanzpark is more a park for families than Mauerpark. (Grand-)

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Interviews 37, 38, 33

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Interviews 23, 21, 38, 19, 20

¹⁷⁷ Interview 41

¹⁷⁸ Comment 9

¹⁷⁹ Interview 14

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Interview 25

¹⁸¹ Interview 37

¹⁸² Cf. Interviews 22, 24, 1, 8, 12, 13, 14, 21, 24, 28, 33, 37

children are mentioned by 19% as top 3 reasons for the park, while visiting and playing with the kids is the favourite activity of 13% of users. Parents appreciate the variety of the playgrounds as well as the possibility for kids to be outside, get sun, to be able to move freely, meet other kids and live it up.¹⁸³

Pearson Correlation	Relax	Sun/ Air	Distraction	Experience	Dog	Kids	People
TP AGE	-,041	,097	-,175	-,321**	-,020	,024	-,307**
MP AGE	-,015	-,140	,095	,008	-,003	,107	-,322**
Pearson Correlation	Sports	Nature	Beauty	History	Watch	Events	
TP AGE	-,594**	,348**	,360**	,127	,395**	,117	
MP AGE	-,100	-,013	-,081	,041	,174	-,002	

TABLE 5 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN AGE AND REASONS FOR PARK VISIT, SOURCE: OWN DATA

SPORTS/ HOBBIES

In Türkenschanzpark 26% of the users named sports/ hobbies under the 3 most important reasons for a park visit in comparison to 8% in Mauerpark. This is not just related to the various sport facilities but also due to activities like jogging and Nordic walking. This result is also reflected in the favourite activities where the category Sports/ Hobbies ranks number one in TP. It is mostly young people who are physically active in the park. There is a negative correlation between Sports/ Hobbies and Age.

EVENTS/ EXPERIENCE /WATCH

Pearson Correlation	Distraction	Events	People
Experience	,312**	,306**	,403**

TABLE 6 MAUERPAK: CORRELATIONS EXPERIENCE, SOURCE: OWN DATA

Events were the second most important reason for Mauerpark users, mentioned by 44% compared to only 4% in Türkenschanzpark. The reason 'to experience something' generally gets a weak approval, even less in Türkenschanzpark than in Mauerpark. Here experience is correlated with escape from daily life, meeting people, and going to events. Watching other people got 25 votes in Mauerpark but only 6 in Türkenschanzpark. People name especially the karaoke show, musicians and artists as reason to visit the park. Although observing might not be an explicit reason to go the park, many people do it, especially older people. In Türkenschanzpark some named the playground *Freizeitwelt* as one of their favourite places and admitted how much they like to watch the kids playing. Here the importance of passive contacts becomes visible: "In Vienna it's hard to get into contact with people, I am a widow for

¹⁸³ Cf. Interviews 22, 24, 35, 36

30 years now, what else should I do?”¹⁸⁴

WALL/ HISTORY

In Mauerpark the wall is another reason for visits, especially for tourists and graffiti artists: “For people who come to Berlin because of graffiti it’s definitely a good address.”¹⁸⁵ Three Swedish youngsters who came to Berlin for a week to experience the graffiti scene state: “We would definitely recommend the place. If you are in Berlin you should paint here.”¹⁸⁶ The equivalent question for “seeing the wall”, in Türken-schanzpark was “being in an historical important place”. This was even ranked higher than in Mauerpark.

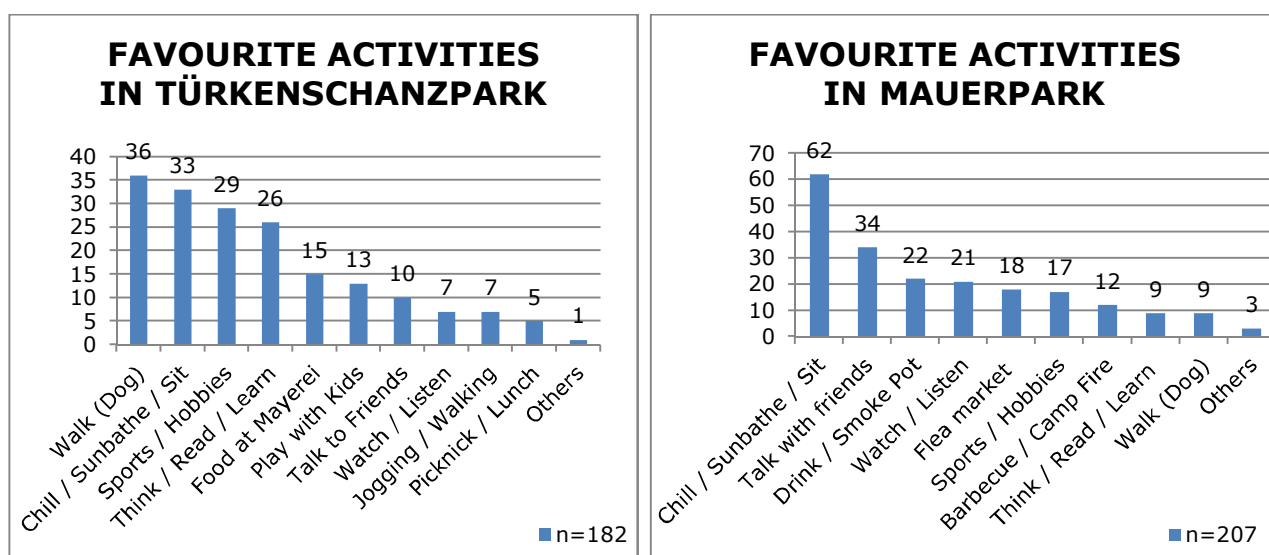


CHART 13 FAVOURITE ACTIVITIES IN THE PARKS, SOURCE: OWN DATA

6.2.2 External Motivation/ Attractiveness

In this section the external motivation, thus the attractiveness of certain park characteristics will be investigated. When comparing the answers to the open question about things that the visitors like about the specific park, there are fundamental differences.

Türken-schanzpark is mostly appreciated for its nature. It gets labelled a “real park” or “finally a park that deserves to be called a park”¹⁸⁷ by users. It is furthermore described as an “oasis within the city”, “zen garden”, “green island”, “brief vacation”, “energy oasis”, “oasis of quietness”, “small green oasis” or “a little feelgood oasis in the city”¹⁸⁸ where one loses track of

¹⁸⁴ Interview 42

¹⁸⁵ Comment 22

¹⁸⁶ Interview 9

¹⁸⁷ Comment 12

¹⁸⁸ Comment 7,9,13,14,18

time.¹⁸⁹ Also popular are the intertwined layout with the exotic and old trees as well as the maintenance and beauty. Türkenschanzpark is described as “charming” or “enchanted park”, a “wonderful place”, or “a rare jewel of the city of Vienna”.¹⁹⁰ Beyond, users appreciate the “good maintenance”, that it is “very clean” or in a “tiptop condition”.¹⁹¹ Under the category Layout/ Design, elements like the diverse landscape, “different situations with trees and open areas”, “topographically up and down” or “lovely bushes and lawns” are summarized.¹⁹² The park is often described as a maze or labyrinth. The ponds as well as the vegetation rank number four and five in the list of things that people like in Türkenschanzpark. The wide selection of leisure and sport facilities is also acknowledged by one fourth of the people: “it offers enough space for young, old and also dogs”, it is “an all-rounder”: “for each desire, there is the right place”.¹⁹³

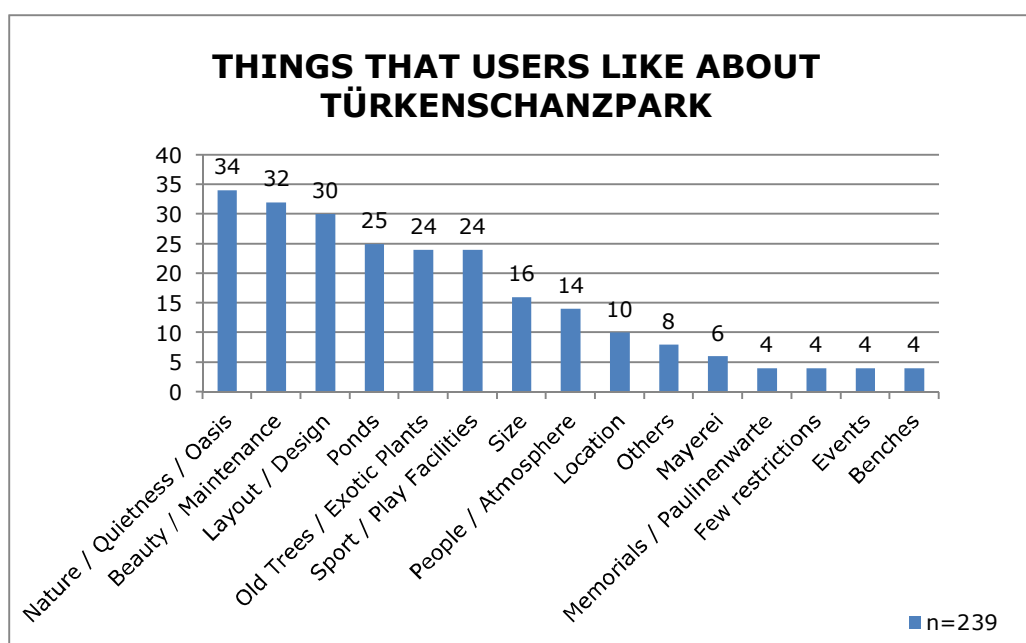


CHART 14 THINGS THAT USERS LIKE ABOUT TP, SOURCE: OWN DATA

In Mauerpark on the other hand, one third of the users name the people as the number one thing they like about the park. Users refer especially to the mix of different people: “One sees the young and the old, a colourful mixture of different groups and singles” including the “‘I-am-a-metropolitan’ but also all kinds of chilled people”, “mothers, people drinking bier, people reading a book, some elderly...”¹⁹⁴. Mauerpark is described as a “shelter for each manifestation of the species mankind” or “an outstanding space for exchange (...) of variable encounters (...)

¹⁸⁹ Comment 14 TP

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Comments 4, 5, 6, 9

¹⁹¹ Cf. Comments 6, 18

¹⁹² Cf. Comments 9, 3, 14, 15

¹⁹³ Cf. Interviews 21, 32, 36, 26, 41

¹⁹⁴ Comments 33, 34, Interview 2

a meeting place for interdisciplinary artists”.¹⁹⁵ Many people also refer to the different nationalities: “Here you’ll meet the whole world”.¹⁹⁶ Users explain that it’s easy to get in contact with new people as they are generally open-minded and take it easy. They also refer to tolerance, that everybody could be the way he or she is and that nobody will look at you in a weird way. Additionally people are generous and share food or drinks with strangers.¹⁹⁷ The importance of the people is reflected in the statement of a young Dane who moved to Berlin 5 years ago:

*“When I did my first German class here the teacher asked us what we want to see and people answered ‘Brandenburger Gate’ and stuff, and when she asked me I said ‘the people’ (...) that’s what I consider interesting about Berlin. There are so many different people from different places, so many wasted people... and that’s the reason why I come here [Mauerpark]. You see everybody. Young and old, mothers with kids. People use the park. It’s the people that make a city.”*¹⁹⁸

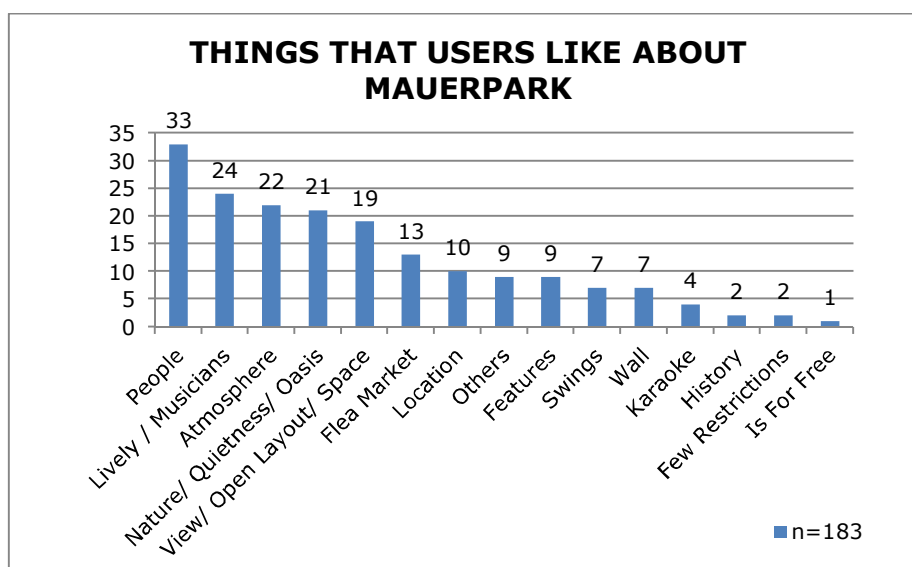


CHART 15 THINGS THAT USERS LIKE ABOUT MAUERPARK, SOURCE: OWN DATA

People ranked the liveliness and atmosphere as number two and three in the list of things they like about Mauerpark. People described the atmosphere in the park with words like: “It’s all go”, “never boring”, “special”, “bloody marvellous”, “great”, “open”, “relaxed”, “quaint”, “free”, “lively”, “entertaining” or “trundling”:¹⁹⁹ “Between enormous-soap-bubble-blowers, jugglers (...) and musicians, relaxed people bustle with frisbees; children, dogs, barbecues (...) bottle collectors” as well as “singing, dancing, drinking, roaring, playing, walking people, as far as the

¹⁹⁵ Comments 39, 19

¹⁹⁶ Interview 10

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Interviews 8, 1, 19, 20, 48

¹⁹⁸ Interview 44

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Interviews 1, 19, 11, 17, 26, 20, 37, 33, 36

eye can reach.”²⁰⁰ The diversity of people often leads to unexpected happenings and encounters which one person commented with: “such things will on happen to you in Mauerpark.”²⁰¹ Other users remark that Mauerpark is somehow “a bit outside of reality”, “time flies”²⁰² and “Mauerpark has a personal charm which one is somehow not able to understand.”²⁰³ Mauerpark can be considered typical for Berlin as it represents its character: “Those who want to experience in a short time, the essence that makes Berlin interesting, are perfect here, especially at the week end.”²⁰⁴ Three people answered the question about what makes Mauerpark a special place in Berlin with the statement that Mauerpark was actually typical for Berlin. Another person describes the atmosphere as “so Berlin and so unifying.”²⁰⁵ Similar remarks came from the discourse analysis: “People seem to be relaxed, just what I like about Berlin, which is especially paradisiacal when people can relax despite all the harshness of life.”²⁰⁶ Although the park is in a bad condition it is a popular place in Berlin: “Despite the dirt, Mauerpark is simply iconic.”²⁰⁷ It gets the labels “In”, “Cool”, “Place to be” or “THE place for your break”²⁰⁸ by users. In this way Mauerpark represents Berlin’s character which is according to the mayor of Berlin *Klaus Wowereit* “poor but sexy”.²⁰⁹

When the appearance of Mauerpark is taken under consideration it is not surprising that the park as oasis/nature in the city is mentioned by only one fifth of the users. Some people do not even perceive it as a park: “Actually the park is not a park, but a sad green area”, “Unfortunately one cannot call this green area a park...”, “Park is more like an exaggeration”, “Mauerpark. Park. A green line.”²¹⁰ Also named by one fifth is its specific layout. Here people emphasize the hill and the open space that contrast to the densely built up surrounding and enable a free view: “...open space, that’s rare in Berlin...”, “I like the difference in the height (...) very different from Danish parks, the difference in height...” “It’s nice and open here. It’s a lovely view. It’s not like this in the rest of the city. It’s so compact.”²¹¹ The hill and the lawn also rank number one and two in the question of the favourite places in Mauerpark, followed by the amphitheatre. In *Türkenschanzpark* it was the ponds and the likewise the lawns that the users liked best.²¹² The popularity of the lawns can be related to the circumstance that their use is not predefined and provides room for different activities.

²⁰⁰ Comments 9, 39

²⁰¹ Visit 14

²⁰² Questionnaire 67, Comment 37

²⁰³ Comment 31

²⁰⁴ Comment 9

²⁰⁵ Comment 37

²⁰⁶ Comment 26

²⁰⁷ Comment 36

²⁰⁸ Comment 8

²⁰⁹ ONLINE FOCUS 2006

²¹⁰ Comment 7, 16, 18, 21

²¹¹ Interviews 5, 3, 9

²¹² Cf. CHART 30

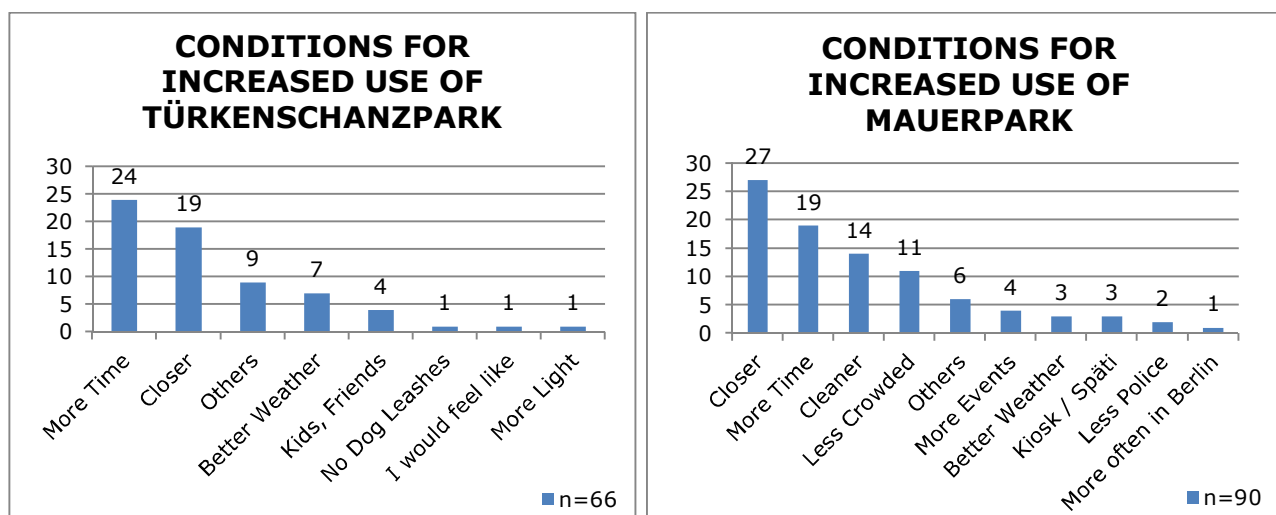


CHART 16 CONDITIONS FOR INCREASED USE OF TP/ MP, SOURCE: OWN DATA

PROXIMITY

In the theory it has already been mentioned that the attractiveness of a park is related to its size, distance and the quality. This is reflected in the question about the circumstances under which users would come to the parks more often, the proximity was one of the two top answers in both parks. In an interview, a man answered the question which his favourite park in the city was: "Always the one that's closest."²¹³ Furthermore, proximity was also named as further reasons for park visits.²¹⁴ For old people with a limited mobility the park can even become the last place to visit: "I don't want to go anywhere else anymore, except for doing the groceries (...) I don't make it to the city anymore."²¹⁵ The majority of park users consider the parks to be easy accessible.²¹⁶

HISTORY

Although people denied that they would go to the park to see the wall, they support the argument that Mauerpark's history makes it a special place. While some young visitors do not even know that Mauerpark is located on the former border strip, older visitors sometimes explain how the area used to look like in the time of the Cold War and how impressive it was that this deserted and deathly area, turned into one of the liveliest spots in the area.²¹⁷ "The former death zone, now green."²¹⁸ In Türkenschanzpark less people relate the uniqueness of the park to its history which is probably related to the fact that it dates back over 100 years and nobody has experienced the time. Nevertheless, the age of Türkenschanzpark plays a role as the old trees were mentioned by one fourth of the users.

²¹³ Interview 15

²¹⁴ Cf. CHART 31

²¹⁵ Interview 40

²¹⁶ Cf. CHART 35

²¹⁷ Cf. Questionnaire 19

²¹⁸ Comment 21

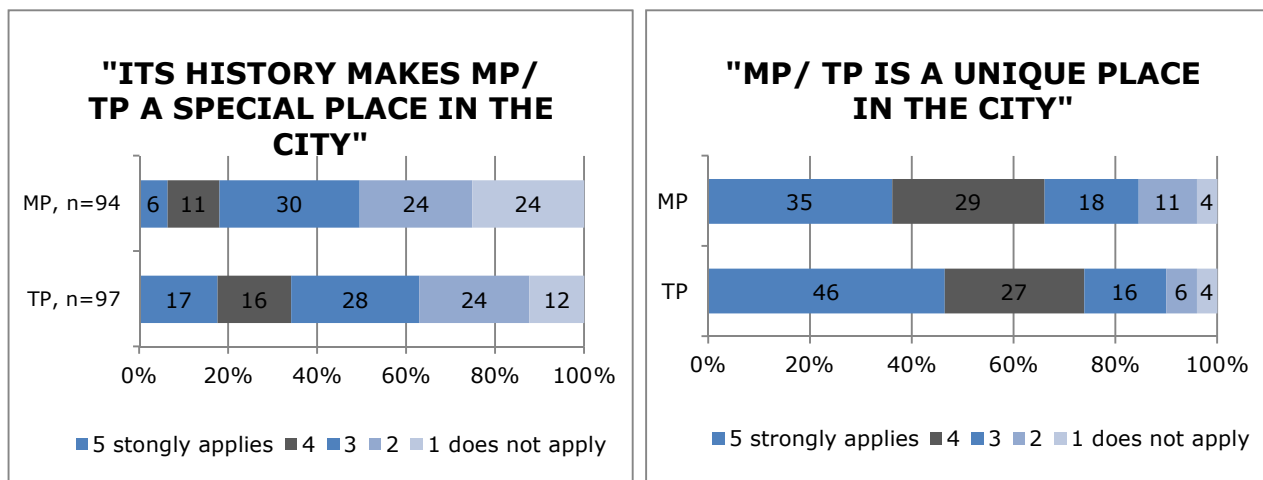


CHART 17 IMPORTANCE OF HISTORY, SOURCE: OWN DATA

CHART 18 UNIQUENESS OF THE PARKS, SOURCE: OWN DATA

6.3 Park Experiences/ Operant Conditioning

In this section, positive and negative park experiences will be analysed. These experiences influence the peoples' preferences for the satisfaction of the internal motivations. They will thus influence whether users will satisfy their needs, for instance for recreation or social interaction, in the case study parks or if they will use other parks or different leisure time facilities in the future.

6.3.1 Positive Park Experiences

"Türkenschanzpark was a reason to move here."²¹⁹

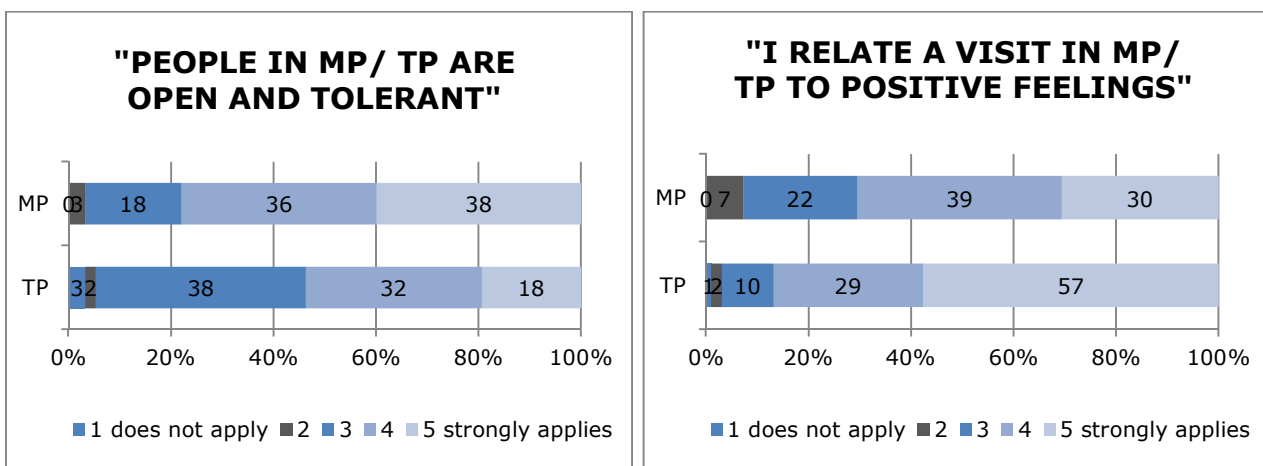


CHART 19 POSITIVE PARK EXPERIENCES, SOURCE: OWN DATA

Park users generally evaluated the other park users as open and tolerant, in Mauerpark more

²¹⁹ Interview 36

than in Türkenschanzpark. This positive attitude declines though with the age of users.²²⁰ The park visit is, for most users, related to positive feelings. These include freedom, peace, happiness, fun, exuberance, feeling high spirits, relaxation, enjoy, unwind, satisfaction, sociability and community feeling.²²¹

EMOTIONAL ATTACHMENT

In both parks users affirmed that they feel emotionally attached to the parks, more so in Türkenschanzpark than in Mauerpark, where 25% totally denied the statement. This can be explained by the fact that there are positive correlations between the emotional attachment and the frequency of park visits in both parks and 33% of the Mauerpark sample just used the park on this particular day or less than once a month. Moreover there is a positive correlation between the attachment and the age of visitors in Türkenschanzpark.

Pearson Correlation	Age	Frequency
Attachment TP	,269**	,381**
Attachment MP	,027	,393**

TABLE 7 CORRELATIONS ATTACHMENT, SOURCE: OWN DATA

In the interviews users expressed this connection through statements like: "I know each path and each tree, it's familiar and beautiful." "This is my park" or "I grew up here in Türkenschanzpark (...) for me Türkenschanzpark is home, a second home."²²² Many people, also students, relate childhood memories or important events to the park. They express a certain familiarity or explain how they saw the park growing over 50 years.²²³

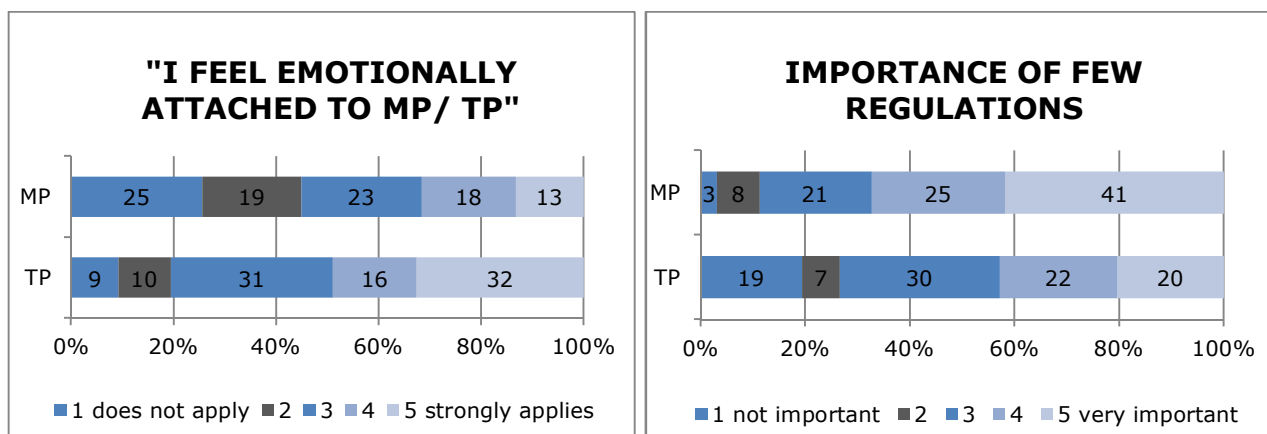


CHART 20 EMOTIONAL ATTACHMENT TO THE PARKS, SOURCE: OWN DATA

CHART 21 IMPORTANCE OF FEW REGULATIONS, SOURCE: OWN DATA

²²⁰ Cf. TABLES 18/19

²²¹ Cf. Interviews 15, 13, 14, 34, 33, 38, 33, 29

²²² Interview 32, 40, 23

²²³ Cf. Comments 14, 19, Interview 47/ Comment, Interview 28

A certain *Konrad Jaschke* showed his attachment by donating a bench with inscription to Türkenschanzpark. In this context it is also interesting to mention how people celebrate important events in the park, like a wedding party or a goodbye barbecue.²²⁴ In Mauerpark people express their emotions with statements like: "I love Mauerpark. Especially for the reason that it is like it is" or simply "I love Mauerpark."²²⁵ Just like in Türkenschanzpark, Mauerpark is also a place for personally important moments like a marriage proposal, or the first evening back home after a 13 month stay in Columbia.²²⁶ In Mauerpark the attachment is also visible through the fear of change: "I hope that the development plans will not destroy the atmosphere"²²⁷ or the frustration about change that has already taken place. Youngsters talk about disappointment and a certain tension and that Mauerpark became "disgusting".²²⁸

FREEDOM

Parks represent certain free areas in which people are less restricted in their behaviour compared to other parts of the city. One does not have to pay attention to traffic, to smoking or drinking restrictions or follow social conventions concerning clothes but walk barefoot or shirtless. Thus in Mauerpark 41% considered it "very important" to have few regulations; only 3% neglected it. Also in the user interviews people emphasised the liberal atmosphere and little regimentation as a point of attraction.²²⁹ A user states: "It [Mauerpark] conveys the feeling that one can start things or activities, without repressions, barbecue or music and even if I don't do that myself it's nice that the variety is there and that one can dive into it..."²³⁰ Türkenschanzpark users in comparison strongly support a liberal regimentation in 20% of the cases, 19% were in favour of the regimentation and neglected for instance the abundance of the restriction to barbecue. Not surprisingly the older visitors were against a more liberal regimentation; a negative correlation of the variables Age and Few Restrictions of -0.511^{**} exists. Although there are, of course, exceptions: "After the war it [Türkenschanzpark] was run down, kids were not allowed to step on the grass, meanwhile it's more philanthropic, I like that when the young people are sitting on the grass and have a picnic or play ball, the park is well maintained and it's alive."²³¹ The experience of freedom is not just limited to the regimentation but also to other attributes like being outside as compensation for "daily life and the domestic narrowness during the whole year."²³²

²²⁴ Cf. Visit 9, 14

²²⁵ Comment 37, 5

²²⁶ Cf. Visit 12

²²⁷ Comment 2

²²⁸ Interview 14

²²⁹ Interviews 10, 13

²³⁰ Interview 15

²³¹ Interview 32

²³² Comment 14 TP

6.3.2 Negative Park Experiences

"Horrible. Every time I pass by here [Mauerpark] I remember why I moved away from *Prenzlauer Berg*."²³³

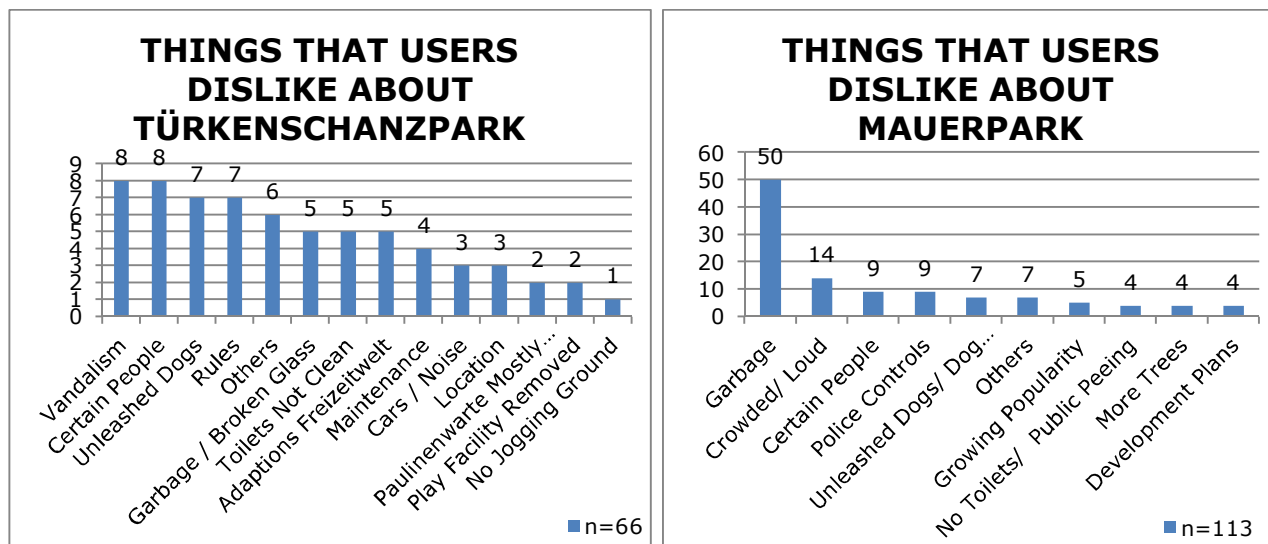


CHART 22 THINGS THAT PEOPLE DISLIKES ABOUT TP/MP, SOURCE: OWN DATA

Concerning the question about things that people dislike about the parks, Türkenschanzpark users had generally less answers than Mauerpark users. Complaints are various and there is no predominant point of criticism. People referred to vandalism, people who are biking on the paths or who do not leash their dogs; while others criticize that dogs must be on a leash. In the interviews many people mentioned the concrete paths which disturbs the nature or is unhealthy for jogging.²³⁴ Improvement suggestions mostly come from the pupils who want concrete interventions in the area *Freizeitwelt*, like more lamps, more skating facilities or a fence at the soccer field.

In Mauerpark however the issue with garbage, broken glass, bottle caps and cigarette butts is mentioned by 50% of the users: "It is a pity that the Mauerpark is so dirty and apparently hardly anyone feels responsible for their own garbage or dog dirt."²³⁵ The pollution is especially strong after week ends and events.²³⁶ One can see that the bad condition of the park is in fact a reason for visitors to avoid the park by looking at the answers to the question under which circumstances people would come more often. 15 people answered "if it was cleaner".²³⁷ Moreover, the pollution makes it almost impossible for certain people to use the park. In this

²³³ Comment 35

²³⁴ Cf. Interviews 36, 26, 28, 25

²³⁵ Comment 14

²³⁶ Cf. Interview 4

²³⁷ Cf. CHART 16

way it is not possible to let infants play outside the fenced playground as the ground is covered with cigarette butts and broken glass. However, some users made the remark that this issue is not particularly related to Mauerpark but Berlin in general.²³⁸ In the context of pollution, the lack of public toilets leads to the practice of some people urinating in public or using the dog area.²³⁹

The criticism that Mauerpark is too loud or too crowded ranks second. When asked directly if the park was too crowded, only 19% disagreed with the statement, in comparison to 59% in Türken-schanzpark: "When the weather is good on the weekend, Mauerpark is almost inaccessible because of the closely packed and accumulated crowds of diverse people"²⁴⁰ and "one can hardly step somewhere".²⁴¹ Locals mention especially the tourists who are attracted by the flea market and the karaoke show, some of which who are just "fun tourist" who come to Berlin for a week end to drink and celebrate.²⁴² The example of Mauerpark thus shows that "...the city, and spaces and places within it, not only are sites of consumption but are also themselves consumed."²⁴³

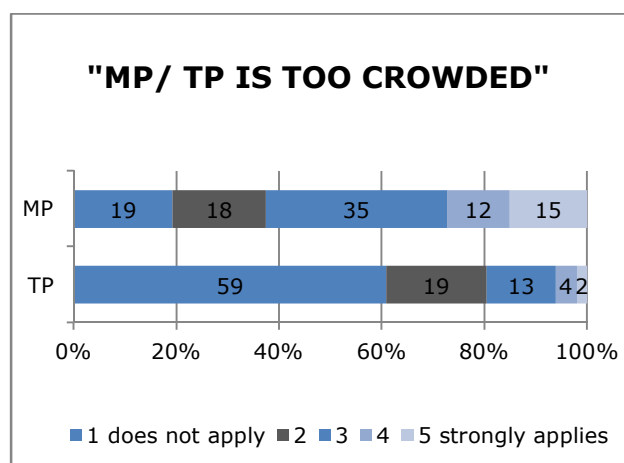


CHART 23 CROWDEDNESS OF THE PARKS, SOURCE: OWN DATA

It has to be mentioned though that even on crowded days the birch grove offers the opportunity for a retreat. The high visitor numbers cause polarizing reactions. For some people Sunday is the best day to visit the park (34%): "Sunday's flea market and karaoke are the perfect end for a stressful week".²⁴⁴ Others avoid it (13%) as it is loud, dirty and smelly.²⁴⁵ Several users report how they drew back from Mauerpark:

²³⁸ Cf. Interview 5, Comment 27

²³⁹ Cf. Interview 12, Comment 4

²⁴⁰ Comment 32

²⁴¹ Interview 6

²⁴² Cf. Visit 5, Interview 15, Comment 4

²⁴³ JAYNE 2005: 152

²⁴⁴ Comment 5

²⁴⁵ Cf. Comment 10

*"The large crowd of people on Sundays in summer – at some point it's just too much."*²⁴⁶

*"Karaoke was really nice in the beginning, innovative, I mean, it's not necessarily worse just because there are more people there, but it just became too crowded for me, that you already had to be there two hours in advance to get a seat, that was too exhausting, so I just went somewhere where it's not so crowded..."*²⁴⁷

*"I come here quite frequently in the summer, at least until last year, last year it got a bit too crowded, then it was just too much for me, it was just a crowd of people, not a park anymore, so to speak..."*²⁴⁸

11 users stated in the questionnaires that they would come more often if the park wasn't too crowded.²⁴⁹ Others just accept that Berlin is a metropolis that is crowded in some places: "But that's how it is in some places in Berlin. No reason not to come."²⁵⁰ In third place, Mauerpark users mention "certain people", which refers for instance to drunk teenagers or bongo players. Just like in Türken-schanz-park users also complain about unleashed dogs and dog dirt. They claim that the dog area is usually dominated by large dogs and the smaller ones do not dare to play and that the bag dispensers are always empty. Some users also regret the changing popularity of the park and claim that it used to be nicer. Others mention the future development plans: "It's a pity that the park should be changed and all these plans they had in relation to this urban renewal in *Kastanienallee* and the displacement of people that live here..."²⁵¹ Users generally disagree with the construction of housing or shops but claim that the space should stay free for use.²⁵²

DIVERSITY AT RISK

"The ambience in Mauerpark is ambivalent."²⁵³ On the one hand, users claim that people are open and tolerant. On the other hand there are obviously user conflicts which have grown with the popularity of the park and the progressing gentrification.²⁵⁴ Some users complain about the "invasion of yuppies that drink their 5 euro cappuccino and claim that this park is so cosmopolitan".²⁵⁵ The rejection of the yuppies is also visible through graffiti like "chasing yuppies". It was already described how this influenced the atmosphere in the park and the growing regimentation. A significant negative correlations between the variables income and importance of few regulations of -,224* could be found. A user describes how *Swabians*²⁵⁶ tend

²⁴⁶ Comment 30

²⁴⁷ Interview 13

²⁴⁸ Interview 13

²⁴⁹ Cf. CHART 16

²⁵⁰ Comment 5

²⁵¹ Interview 13

²⁵² Cf. Interview 15, Comments 14, 28

²⁵³ Comment 14

²⁵⁴ Cf. KRÜGER 2011

²⁵⁵ Interview 14

²⁵⁶ REMARK: Swabia is a region in Southern Germany, Bavaria where the majority of people is

to call the police when Turkish families barbecue outside the official barbecue zone. "Here a clash of cultures, nonsense, of different worlds takes place..." ²⁵⁷



PICTURE 11 IMPRESSIONS MAUER PARK, SOURCE: OWN PICTURES

Some youngsters describe the situation at night:

"Youngster 3: *At night when you're sitting in the stone circle with your group...* Youngster 1: *then the bottles are flying through the air!* Youngster 3: *...then 10 or 20 or more chavs come and then you'll have "free-for-all" and bottles are flying, all the drunks are fighting each other* Youngster 1: *that used to be different (...)* Youngster 3: *it's still the same when you come in the afternoon, evening, it's still peaceful, but you already see groups where you know that there will be trouble later...* Youngster 2: *yeah and in former times there was no trouble, it was just pleasant.*"²⁵⁸

Nevertheless these groups are not exclusively from *Wedding* but also come from different areas in Berlin. The future development remains to be seen. A user describes the situation as the following: "I hope that this mix is going to be productive and not explosive. Mauerpark, located in the middle of these different social scenes will have to endure a lot in the future. But that also opens opportunities, if one is willing to take them."²⁵⁹

As a reaction to the activities at night, the city implemented a stronger surveillance of the park through the police. One can frequently see police men walking along the *Schwedtner Straße* or driving through in a bus. These controls are mentioned in third place on the list of things that people dislike about the park: "Police, too much police, safety okay, but it's getting annoying..."²⁶⁰ This is not just true for people who have to "fear" the police for the consumption of illegal soft drugs or adolescents that are not yet allowed to drink according to the law. But users complain about the destruction of the ambience. Some frustrated youngsters explained that they had to disassemble their shisha so that the police could see if they were smoking marijuana. Instead of just smelling it "they just destroy everything."²⁶¹ Other users say that although the police is patrolling every second hour "they are cool", that the control is more about showing presence and that the police men usually do not get off their bus and stop

rather conservative

²⁵⁷ Comment 11

²⁵⁸ Interview 14

²⁵⁹ Comment 26

²⁶⁰ Interview 14

²⁶¹ Interview 14

people from smoking marijuana.²⁶² Two people stated in the questionnaires that they would come more often if there were less police controls.²⁶³

FEELING OF SAFETY

Users talk about different incidents at night conducted by “drunks” “antisocial” and “chavs” like muggings, brawls, flying bottles, the burning of bins or firecrackers in the dog area²⁶⁴ „...and if you’re lucky you can even experience a fire with police and fire service in the evening.”²⁶⁵

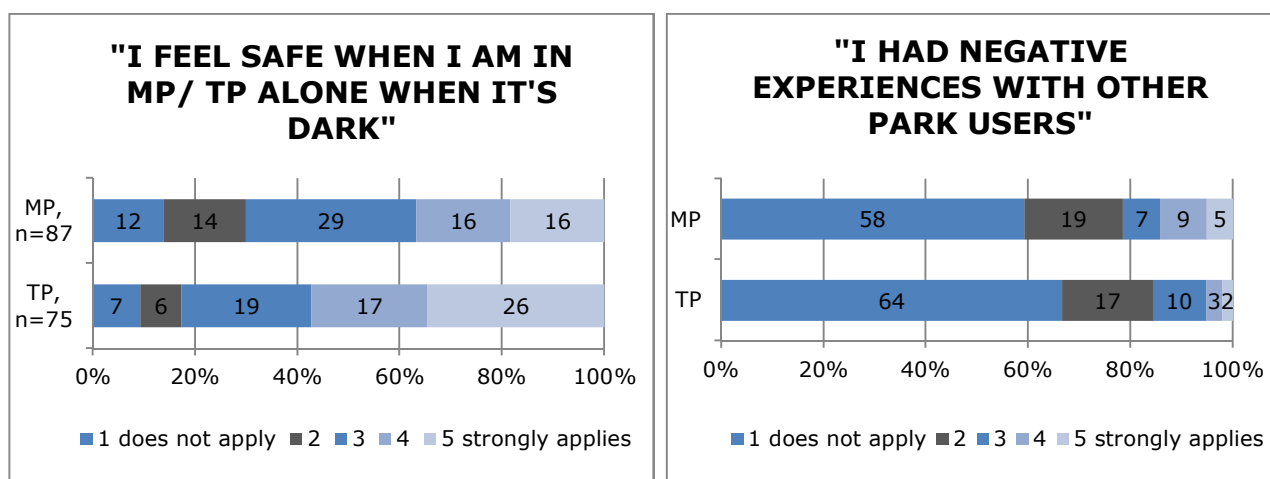


CHART 24 FEELING OF SAFETY AND NEGATIVE EXPERIENCES, SOURCE: OWN DATA

Mauerpark users feel less secure at night than Türkenschanzpark users. The response rate of this question is generally low, as people were told not to answer the question if they don't come here in the evening. Interestingly the feeling of safety is not related to negative experiences. In both parks the majority of people did not have negative experience with other users. In Türkenschanzpark the feeling of security is related to how tolerant users perceive the other park visitors to be. Moreover, older people feel less secure in general.²⁶⁶

²⁶² Interview 45

²⁶³ Cf. CHART 16

²⁶⁴ Cf. Comments 30, 36, Interviews 1, 12, 14

²⁶⁵ Comment 29

²⁶⁶ Cf. Table 8

7 REFLECTIONS

7.1 Attraction of Parks

The empirical study has shown the different characters and attraction of the two parks. The attraction through the provision of *green space* applies strongly for Türkenschanzpark which is considered a green oasis within the city with outstanding *beauty* and *maintenance*. The appreciation of the nature is reflected in the fact that users experience hardly any visible signs of vandalism as threat. In Mauerpark only the minority of people are attracted by its function as a green space. However, the element of *quietness* and the absence of cars have turned out to be an important point of attraction in both parks.

Moreover they both attract, as *social spaces*, a very diverse user clientele, with a focus on social/ cultural diversity in Mauerpark and demographic diversity in Türkenschanzpark. The inclusive character of the public spaces emerges, among others, through the parks' variety and flexibility. Türkenschanzpark offers different situations and possibilities through its design and Mauerpark through its unspecific layout and the differentiated use which attracts different users at different times of the year, the week and the day. *Watching* the diverse people, especially on festival days, is a big attraction for many user groups in Mauerpark. In Türkenschanzpark the importance of watching as passive contacts for old people can be seen. *events* turned out to be a huge attraction in Mauerpark but not in Türkenschanzpark. In Mauerpark, the *variety of people* itself is a bigger attraction than the physical environment of the park. Furthermore, the function of the parks as *meeting places*, for dog owners, mothers with their kids or youngsters functions as an attraction in both places. Türkenschanzpark and Mauerpark are considered to be *unique places* within their cities for the majority of users. Türkenschanzpark distinguishes itself as "rare jewel" with the park's outstanding design and upkeep as well as the old and exotic plants. Mauerpark sticks out as "Berlin condensed" with its scruffy but lively and interesting character and people as well as for the wall as symbol for the recent history. The use of Türkenschanzpark has shown the attraction of the park as *stable places* in the lives of people. Each human being is positioned between the poles of tradition and innovation. The post-modern times favour the elements of innovation which is visible in the constantly reshaping of our cities or changing fashion trends. Türkenschanzpark is an antithesis to this development. This is also reflected in the fact that users considered being in an *historical place* a reason for the park visit. The *emotional attachment* to the places that people feel is related to the importance of the parks in everyday life. The attachment is in both parks related to the frequency of use: In Türkenschanzpark also to the age of people. *Proximity* should also be mentioned as an attraction of the parks which is however individual for each user. As has been shown in Türkenschanzpark, for some elderly people proximity can become the determined, respectively the limiting factor, for the park use. Interestingly people

who stated that parks are not an important element of their daily life also evaluated the accessibility of the parks as low (TP -,201*). Offering space to conduct *sports and hobbies* and the provision of special equipment has turned out to be a big attraction in Türkenschanzpark. The rambling layout is also inviting for going for a walk and for jogging. Also the fact that the parks represent *non commercialized spaces*, which are freely accessible and offer free music and entertainment including several sports facilities and amenities in Türkenschanzpark and several free events including unplanned, spontaneous performances of semi-professional musicians and artists in Mauerpark, are part of the parks' attractions. Another element of the attraction of parks is the constitution of *free spaces*. People are free from the hectic and noise of the city, free from certain regulations. There is a freedom from the domestic confines and the limited view in the densely built up city. Also the freedom of use including political freedom, exists in the park. This attraction was the route of the success story of Mauerpark. In conclusion one can say that all these different attractions that the parks offer overlap. They apply for each individual only partly and apply in a different intensity. Most people do not even recognize the different motivations and benefits but just experience them and leave the park with a positive feeling. But despite the fact that people are not conscious about this processes, the experiences will influence their future behaviour and shape their spatial practices and thus the cities they live in. In Mauerpark it is very obvious how the intense use of the park raises the political pressure for the long planned extension of the park. At the same time Mauerpark shows how negative park experiences like crowding effects, pollution and user conflicts can lead to the avoidance of future park visits. Türkenschanzpark on the other hand can be used to emphasize that financial investment in public infrastructure has direct effects on the users' spatial patterns. The improvement of the park's upkeep in the last decade was reflected in rising user numbers.

Pearson Correlation	Age	Income	Uniqueness	Feelings	Tolerance	Attachment	Safety
Frequency of Visits MP	-,089	-,029	,301**	,255*	,242*	,393**	,472**
Frequency of Visits TP	,046	,044	,186	,179	,170	,381**	,093

TABLE 8 CORRELATIONS FREQUENCY OF VISITS, SOURCE: OWN DATA

When analysing the factors for the frequency of park visits, it turns out that the variable is independent from the age or income of people. A significant correlation between the frequency of visits and emotional attachment to the places could be assessed in both parks though. In Mauerpark the frequency of visits is further related to the motivations of meeting other people as well as the consideration of the park's uniqueness. People who relate a Mauerpark visit to positive feelings, consider other users tolerant and the park as a safe place at night are more likely to be frequent users.

7.2 Parks in Competition with other Leisure Time Facilities

The previous section clarified which user groups the parks attract and how. Now the question remains of how the attraction of the park ranks in comparison to other leisure time facilities. The answers to the questions of what makes the specific park a special place in the city or what distinguishes it from other parks are similar to the question of what users like about the park: the “rare jewel” and “Berlin condensed”. Important however is that the places are perceived as something special, a unique place in the city. The question about activities that are only done in the parks mostly stayed blank, in 42 cases in Türkenschanzpark and 60 cases in Mauerpark. This emphasizes the fact that people can satisfy their needs or internal motivations in other locations in the city and parks are to a certain extent interchangeable, with the notable exception of the necessity to experience nature in the city. But still three quarters of the parks’ visitors voted the park as one of the three most important leisure time facilities that a city should contain.

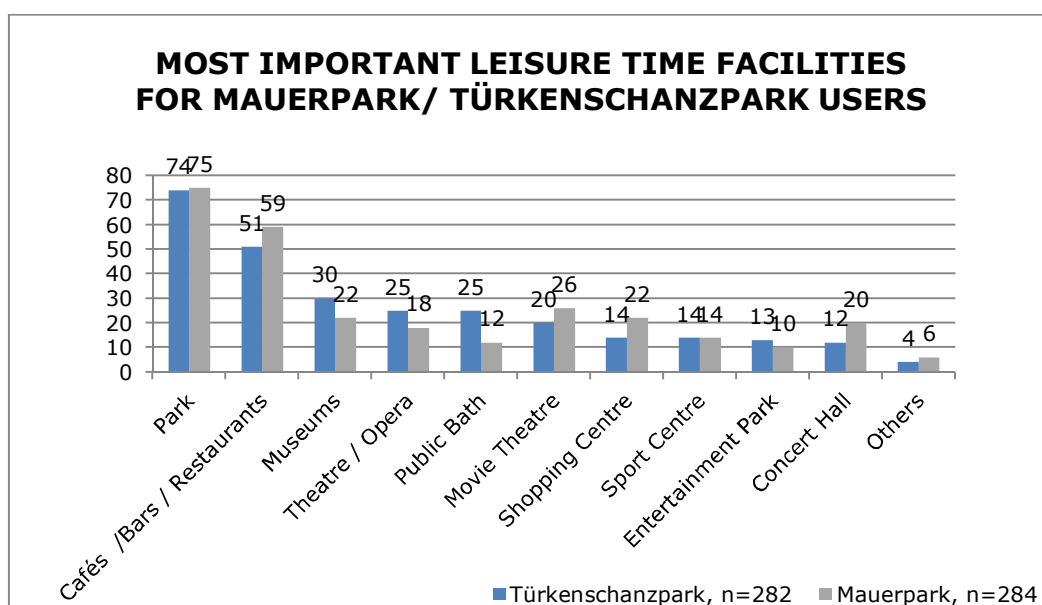


CHART 25 MOST IMPORTANT LEISURE TIME FACILITIES, SOURCE: OWN DATA

Concerning activities that are only done in the parks, in Türkenschanzpark most people named exercising in relation to specific sport installations like skating, Beach Volleyball or table tennis. Some people also used the park exclusively for jogging and walking the dog. Several people mentioned the watching of animals, like the water birds with the fishing crane as special attractions, for activities that are only conducted in the park. In Mauerpark it is the karaoke show and the flea market that people cannot find elsewhere.²⁶⁷

From all the internal and external motivations that have been analysed as possible attractions of the parks the two elements of nature and free entry as a combination are the unique

²⁶⁷ Cf. CHART 32

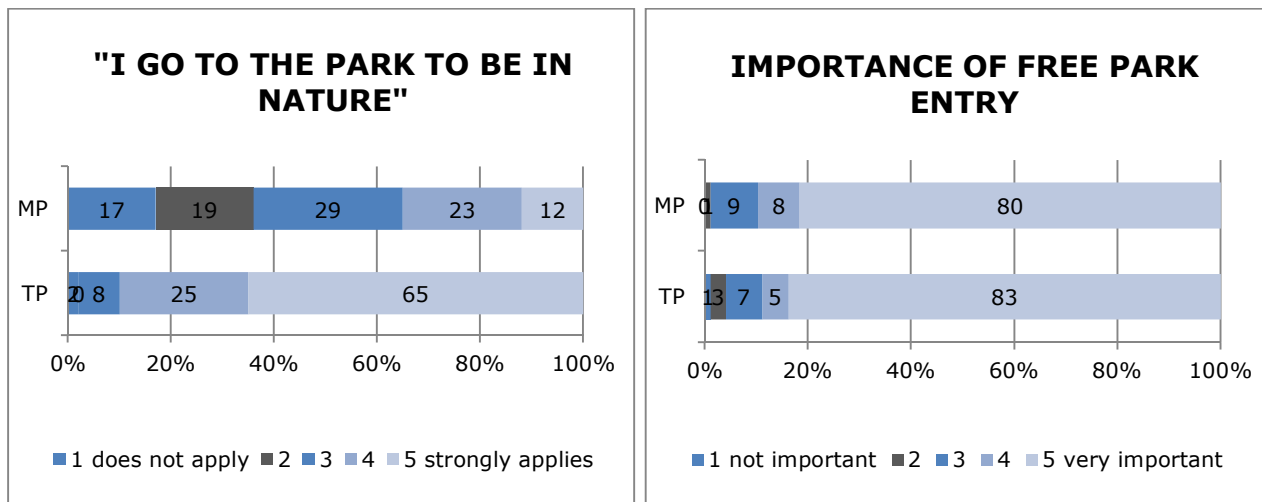


CHART 26 INNER MOTIVATION NATURE, SOURCE: OWN DATA

CHART 27 IMPORTANCE OF FREE PARK ENTRY, SOURCE: OWN DATA

characteristics of parks, which were also rated high in the question about the most important characteristics of parks.²⁶⁸ This raises the question of whether these characteristics are always the determined elements to visit parks and the other reasons are just additional benefits or if there are other determining reasons. On the one hand, the majority of users mentioned the nature of Türkenschanzpark as the main external motivation, while on the other hand the majority of Mauerpark users considered the park as a social space as the main external motivation. When the users had to vote the three most important reasons for the park visit only 43 users in Türkenschanzpark and 15 in Mauerpark named being in nature as reason. Interestingly the motivation 'being in nature' is only correlated to the reasons 'to enjoy the sun and the fresh air and to 'enjoy the beauty of the park' in both parks. This emphasizes that the element of nature is not an exclusive reason for people to visit parks. Furthermore the results show that certain user groups do not visit parks as green spaces but to satisfy other needs. In this way, people who go to events in Mauerpark mostly ranked being in nature as reason for their park visit as low; the same is true for people who do sports and hobbies in Türkenschanzpark.

Pearson Correlation	Sun/ Air	Distraction	Events	Sports/ Hobbies	Beauty	History/ Wall	Few Regulations
Nature TP	,289**	-,097	,140	-,229*	,526**	,182	-0,311**
Nature MP	,291**	,212*	-,318**	,260**	,556**	,271**	-,211*

TABLE 9 CORRELATIONS NATURE, SOURCE: OWN DATA

Another negative correlation that could be found is between the importance of few regulations and the experience of nature. This shows that there is a certain user group that appreciates the parks not as green spaces but as certain free spaces. They look for places which diverge

²⁶⁸ Cf. CHART 34

from the trend towards regulated and controlled public spaces and offer space for creativity and free development of the individual. In Mauerpark 25% voted few regulations under the 3 most important park criteria, in Türkenschanzpark it was 11%.

PARKS VERSUS SHOPPING

Now that the attractiveness of the case study parks themselves is revealed some aspects will be presented that show how people consider a park visit in relation to a shopping trip. People were asked in user interviews on which factors they make it dependent if they meet friends in the park or in the city to go shopping. People mostly argued in favour of the park for different reasons. Several people said it would be less stressful to go to the park, especially when they had kids.²⁶⁹ Old people often argued that shopping was not interesting for them anymore: "I don't like going shopping, looking at clothes, these times are over (...) no, that doesn't interest me anymore."²⁷⁰ Some mentioned that they were generally not the shopping type or that shopping was more for girls. Other persons generally did not perceive shopping as a leisure time activity: "Shopping is not a real hobby, that's a neo-hobby for people that don't know what to do with their time; that's a waste of time, in a park I can at least do something with my leisure time instead of going shopping and wasting money, spurring capitalism is not a real hobby..."²⁷¹ Several people argued that parks offer more possibilities to satisfy different needs:²⁷²

*"I prefer being in the park, I have no cars around me and fresh air and actually I have everything I need, I can sit freely, I don't have to consume anything, hmm, I can do what I want, and you can do so many different things, you can have a picnic, exactly, that's also inexpensive, going somewhere and having food that is simply more expensive... you can, I don't know, (...) play football or learn something together, more possibilities, a lot more possibilities, in the city you can probably also go somewhere particular and do exactly what you want to do, like going to a museum, but in the park you just have more possibilities."*²⁷³

7.3 Parks as Inclusive, Non-Consumption Spaces?

In the introduction to this thesis public parks were presented as places with the potential to close the gap between social cohesion and competitiveness on the one hand, and quality of life and consumption on the other hand. These assumptions will be considered briefly in the

²⁶⁹ Interviews 38, 26

²⁷⁰ Interview 23

²⁷¹ Interview 25

²⁷² Interviews 13, 27, 21

²⁷³ Interview 37

following section.

In the oxford dictionary the term 'inclusive' is defined as "not excluding any section of society or any party involved in something".²⁷⁴ This raises the question of which society should be considered: the neighbourhood, the district or the city level? And how can tourism be considered? Due to this complexity, no final statement can be drawn concerning the inclusiveness of the parks at this stage of the research. Yet some remarks can be made. It appeared that both parks attract a huge variety of different user groups. These include minorities like the unemployed, immigrants or homeless men. In contrast to these groups, the parks were also used by affluent people. In Türkenschanzpark it is mainly the bourgeois upper class and in Mauerpark the young gentrifiers from *Prenzlauer Berg*. Furthermore Mauerpark has a very international public while in Türkenschanzpark different age groups are represented. Nevertheless it has also been discussed that in both parks certain user groups are under-represented. The use changes, however, according to the spatial and temporal dimension. Thus the user groups in Türkenschanzpark vary strongly from place to place while the user groups in Mauerpark differ depending on the time. Social cohesion is indeed not just a question of who uses the space but also how. Here it manifested itself in the fact that there is hardly any exchange between the different groups in Türkenschanzpark but rather a peaceful coexistence. Mauerpark is also a place of many conflicts, which sometimes have violent and destructing expressions. But yet, the empirical study showed that positive encounters are predominant. Here it should also be mentioned that it is too simple to judge graffiti or riots as "bad behaviour", like the current approach in Great Britain, but that it is also a means of political expression for people who did not learn to express themselves verbally.

The second assumption was that parks have the potential for delinking the parameters quality of life and consumption.²⁷⁵ When analysing this hypothesis it first needs to be considered whether the parks represent non-consumption spaces at all. Both parks offer some opportunities to consume food and beverages at the restaurants *Mauersegler* and *Mayerei* or through informal venders. These products represent consumption for supply though and not consumption for experience.²⁷⁶ Consequently they are not considered as element of consumption in this context. Another practice that needs to be discussed is the consumption of services in forms of musicians who play music in order to make money. Here it can be mentioned that the element of consumption is optional in these case and thus not a means of social exclusion. In some cases the donation of money could however also be experienced as obligation. This impression came up at the karaoke show where the organizer walked through

²⁷⁴ OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS 2011

²⁷⁵ REMARK: The discussion refers to the meaning of consumption as "the purchase of goods and services by the public" (OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS 2011)

²⁷⁶ REMARK: in the literature consumption for supply and consumption for experience can be differentiated (Cf. BANDER 2002)

the public with a donation box. It also has to be stated that these cases are comparatively rare and the majority of artists and musicians practice their art without the purpose of making money. Moreover the practices of shopping for experience and not for supply can be found in both parks. In Türkenschanzpark it is limited to the Christmas Market and the Children's' Flea Market at the art festival *Montmarte*. In Mauerpark, the weekly flea market on Sunday attracts thousands of visitors and the activity of visiting the flea market ranked number five of the favourite activities in the surveys. Here it can be added that the activity of consuming at a flea market is different than, for instance, in a shopping centre. The products are mostly second-hand and therefore have fewer impacts on the ecosystem as the products are reused. A second difference is the fact that in the flea market interaction an active price bargaining takes place instead of passive consumption.²⁷⁷ However on *Flohmarkt am Mauerpark* also new products are sold. The parks are thus not spaces in which no consumption takes place at all. Yet the scale is different than in other location in the city. Moreover there were users that emphasized that they came to the parks as they either didn't have money to do something else or appreciated the fact that they do not have to consume in the park.²⁷⁸ Generally there were hardly relations between the income of people and their reasons for a park visit or the experiences they made in the park. The age on the other hand often was a dependent variable. Thus, when it comes to the basic inner motivations, it turns out that human beings have generally the same needs like relaxation, socializing, quietness, exercising and so on. The different needs are more related to the current stage of life of the individuals, as pupils, students, as parents or retired.

These aspects show that the examined parks do represent an alternative leisure time facility that does not imply the using up of limited resources. They are obviously also used by affluent people who could spend their leisure time in a different way. It remains unanswered, though, to which extent users perceive parks in a direct competition with other leisure time facilities in their daily life.

²⁷⁷ Cf. CRAWFORD 1992

²⁷⁸ Cf. Interviews 20, 37

8 CRITICISM AND CONCLUSION

"To be fair, none of us can fully comprehend the complexity of the urban labyrinth."²⁷⁹

8.1 Criticism and Future Research

CRITICISM OF METHODOLOGY

In this thesis I tried to reveal the dependent factors for the attraction of Vienna's Türkenschanzpark and Berlin's Mauerpark. The empirical research shows certain weaknesses. As the use of Mauerpark changes significantly during the year and the questioning took place in the summer, mainly young people were questioned. Consequently the data only reflects the user behaviour of a certain user group that dominates in summer. To reduce bias, a questioning at different times of the year would be necessary. Furthermore the sample of 100 questionnaires is too small as a representative sample should usually contain 10-20% of the population. Moreover the results concerning the importance of parks in comparison to other leisure time facilities in the city are biased as the questioning took place in the parks and thus included people who use parks in their daily life.

With regard to the theoretical assumptions of parks as inclusive, non-consumption spaces in the post-modern city it would have been interesting to include these aspects more in the empirical research. While the aspect of inclusion has been treated sufficiently via the aspects of the variety of user groups and questions of access, tolerance, etc. the aspect of public parks as non-consumption spaces could have been treated more deeply. Possible could have been questions about the importance of certain park characteristics like "I can bring my own drinks/food" or "I don't have to spend money". Another important aspect concerning the competitiveness of parks that could be analysed is the different experience values of the parks in winter when less optional activities take place.

FUTURE RESEARCH

The idea of the thesis was to analyse how parks can compete for users with other leisure time facilities. Because of limited resources though, the empirical study of this thesis focused on the question of how the case study parks themselves attract their users. Thus the next step would be to look at the use of other leisure time facilities in the city. This would include the analysis of the specific facility, for instance a shopping centre, and afterwards the comparison of factors like the reasons for the visits (internal motivations), their attractiveness (external motivation) and how the experience values shape the future spatial patterns (operant conditioning). In this manner the question of whether parks could represent an alternative to shopping and thus

²⁷⁹ HARNIK 2010: 16

present a possibility to delink the features 'quality of life' and 'consumption'.

In fact, when one is looking at marketing strategies of shopping centres, striking similarities in the attraction of the users can be found. These include the avoidance of negative effects like crowding, undesired user groups or noise, the necessity for an attractive design/ architecture, the intention to create a meeting point so that the mall fulfils a social function. Shopping centre owners try to raise the competitiveness through a better experience value, by creating an atmosphere that combines recreation and entertainment. That success of this concept is reflected in the result of a study conducted by GERHARD in 1998 that revealed that 80% of females and 54% of males below 20 years went to the shopping centre without having the intention to buy something.²⁸⁰

²⁸⁰ Cf. BANDER 2001: 51

8.2 Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to analyse how Berlin's Mauerpark and Vienna's Türkenschanzpark attract their users. The results of the empirical study show that users do not exclusively visit parks to be in nature and relax. Users have different motivations to use the parks which can exclude the need to be in nature. This is shown for users groups who go to events, practice sports and hobbies and who are attracted to parks as public places with less regimentation than in other places of the post-modern city. It was revealed that parks can be more appealing in their function as inclusive social space than in their function as green space, as in case of Mauerpark. Another crucial element is the park's variety and flexibility that enable the satisfaction of very different needs in one place.

The example of Mauerpark has shown that it is critical to use events as means to raise the popularity of parks. The park's image is commercialized and sold out as a tourist attraction but also as amelioration of real estates. Additionally, plans exist to build on parts of the formally extension zone of Mauerpark. The festivalisation of the park and the resulting overuse led to the damage of the ecosystem. Moreover, it affects the atmosphere in Mauerpark, which turned out to be one of the biggest attractions of the park, by increasing user conflicts and thus leading to a stronger regimentation which in turns changed the "anything goes" atmosphere and possible experiences in the park. In Türkenschanzpark elements of a commercialization of the park can be found. Mr Schuster stated how Türkenschanzpark is increasingly used for the shooting of movie scenes or pictures. On these days large areas of the parks are temporary not usable, taken from the public and thus privatised. There is also insufficient monetary compensation that can be invested in the maintenance and improvement of the park.²⁸¹ Nevertheless it has to be stated that the scale of commercialization is very different compared to Mauerpark.

The discovered attraction of the parks as free spaces is interesting not just for the planning of urban green spaces but also for urban planning in general. In the middle ages the city was synonym for freedom. People who moved to the city were released from their serfdom and became free citizens. Today the growing size and complexity of cities requires more and more regulations to enable a peaceful coexistence between the city residents. The results of the empirical study show that people are looking for spaces with few regulations and surveillance that provide freedom of use and space for creativity. Instead of pre-planned and commercialized experience that people could buy in a theme park, movie theatre or shopping mall, they can experience unplanned, unexpected and unpredictable happenings. They can witness an experience not as passive consumers but active citizens. Users cannot only experience this atmosphere but be part of it and shape it actively by contributing their creativity through art, music, painting, sport performances and so on. This possibility to

²⁸¹ Cf. SCHUSTER 2011

experience freedom was a crucial aspect for Mauerpark's popularity. In the same way one could ask the question why Türkenschanzpark became more popular in the last decade. Was it only because of the better maintenance and rising beauty or also due to the fact that it slowly got less regulated and thus livelier? Meanwhile all lawns are free for use, it is not closed at night anymore and the *Freizeitwelt* offers many opportunities for young people to do sports. Despite its outstanding appearance Türkenschanzpark is not just a decorative park, but a park that can be used, a *Volkspark*, a park for the people as it was when it was inaugurated in 1888.

The results also show that there is no "one-size-fits-all" concept for the design and management of parks. Türkenschanzpark and Mauerpark have very different characters. Despite this fact, they are both frequently visited parks that attract a wide range of different user groups and can offer experiences that make them special places in their cities.

9 ANNEX

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9.2 Indices of Empirical Study

USER INTERVIEWS

NUMBER	PARK	DATE/ TIME	INTERVIEWEE/S	DOCUMENTATION/ LANGUAGE
Interview 1	Mauerpark	08.02.2011, 1 pm	3 youngsters on swing, 2 female, 1 male, 16 years, pupils	Dictaphone/German
Interview 2	Mauerpark	08.02.2011, 1 pm	1 person, female, 28 years with boyfriend, wall area	Dictaphone/German
Interview 3	Mauerpark	08.02.2011, 1 pm	3 persons, female, Danish, are here with the school, doing a Berlin quiz, wall area	Dictaphone/ English
Interview 4	Mauerpark	08.02.2011, 1 pm	4 persons, female, 11-12 years, coming from school, eating Chinese food on the hill	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 5	Mauerpark	08.02.2011, 3 pm	1 person, female with bike at the sitting corner, 45-50 years	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 6	Mauerpark	08.02.2011, 3 pm	1 person, female with dog on lawn, around 30 years	Notes/ German
Interview 7	Mauerpark	08.02.2011, 3 pm	1 person, male, around 50-55 years, photographer, wall area	Notes/ German
Interview 8	Mauerpark	08.02.2011, 3 pm	3 persons, male, around 25-30 years, 2 Spanish, 1 German, all living in Berlin, amphitheatre	Dictaphone/ English
Interview 9	Mauerpark	14.02.2011, 2 pm	3 persons, male, around 20 years, Swedish, graffiti artists, came to Berlin to paint, wall area	Dictaphone/ English
Interview 10	Mauerpark	14.02.2011, 2 pm	2 persons, long-established residents, male and female, with stroller and dog, around 35-40 years, lawn	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 11	Mauerpark	14.02.2011, 8 pm	1 person, male, Yaron from Israel, 22 years, juggler, travelling the world	via facebook chat / English
Interview 12	Mauerpark	28.02.2011, 11am	2 persons, female with dogs on the lawn, around 30 years, regular users living nearby	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 13	Mauerpark	28.02.2011, 11am	2 persons, female, around 20, drinking coffee at amphitheatre, former frequent users	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 14	Mauerpark	28.02.2011, 11am	3 persons in larger group, 1 female, 2 male, amphitheatre, 18-19 years, coming from school, used to be frequent users	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 15	Mauerpark	01.03.2011, 1pm	1 person, male, around 35 years guy at wall area smoking a joint	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 16	Mauerpark	27.02.2011, 2pm	1 person, male, 26 years, tourist from USA	Notes/ English
Interview 17	Mauerpark	28.02.2011, 12 am	1 person, female, 42 years at sitting corner with trees	German/ Notes
Interview 18	Mauerpark	28.02.2011, 12 am	1 person, male, 63 years, retired	Notes/ German

NUMBER	PARK	DATE/ TIME	INTERVIEWEE/S	DOCUMENTATION/ LANGUAGE
Interview 19	Mauerpark	28.02.2011, 12 am	1 person, male, André 38 years playing harmonica	Notes/ German
Interview 20	Mauerpark	28.02.2011, 1 pm	2 persons, male and female, couple with kid, Finish and Austrian, extremely alternative, hippies	Notes/ German and English
Interview 21	Türkenschanzpark	13.03.2011, 1 pm	3 persons, female students with slackline, lawn	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 22	Türkenschanzpark	13.03.2011, 1 pm	1 person, female, mother, in the park with husband and two kids (3+8 years), playground	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 23	Türkenschanzpark	13.03.2011, 2 pm	4 person, female, 60+, retired, stylish old ladies smoking at view point	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 24	Türkenschanzpark	13.03.2011, 2 pm	3 boys, two brothers + cousin, 9 and 10 years	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 25	Türkenschanzpark	13.03.2011, 2 pm	2 persons in a group of 4, mainly girl who works in a shopping centre, 28, all from the countryside, Boku lawn	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 26	Türkenschanzpark	15.03.2011, 12 pm	1 person, female, student at Boku, working at picnic tables	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 27	Türkenschanzpark	15.03.2011, 12 pm	1 person, male, young guy sitting on bench on square	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 28	Türkenschanzpark	15.03.2011, 12 pm	2 persons, male, Boku students studying landscape design, one from Berlin	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 29	Türkenschanzpark	15.03.2011, 1 pm	2 persons, female, studying at Boku, 18 and 21 years, learning for exam at picnic tables	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 30	Türkenschanzpark	15.03.2011, 1 pm	1 person, female Boku student, Hungarian, studying Environmental and Bio Resource Management	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 31	Türkenschanzpark	16.03.2011, 11am	2 persons, male and female, retired relatively old couple, around 80 years	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 32	Türkenschanzpark	16.03.2011, 11am	1 persons, female, elderly lady with young soul	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 33	Türkenschanzpark	16.03.2011, 11am	1 person, female, 14 year old girl with dog in dog area	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 34	Türkenschanzpark	16.03.2011, 12am	2 persons, female, 21 years, studying agricultural science	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 35	Türkenschanzpark	16.03.2011, 12am	1 person, female, self-employed mother with 5 year old boy	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 36	Türkenschanzpark	23.03.2011, 12am	1 person, female, mother with baby	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 37	Türkenschanzpark	23.03.2011, 1pm	2 persons, female, 2 students, Erasmus from Russia and local girl	Dictaphone / German and English
Interview 38	Türkenschanzpark	23.03.2011, 1pm	1 person, female, Pregnant woman moving to <i>Döbling</i>	Dictaphone/ German
Interview 39	Türkenschanzpark	23.03.2011, 2pm	1 person, female, teacher bringing her class for sport class	Notes / German
Interview 40	Türkenschanzpark	23.03.2011, 2pm	1 person, female, old widowed lady, 84 years	Notes / German

NUMBER	PARK	DATE/ TIME	INTERVIEWEE/S	DOCUMENTATION / LANGUAGE
Interview 41	Türkenschanzpark	03.06.2011, 5pm	1 person, male, Rainer living in <i>Döbling</i> , Interview on train to Vienna	Notes / German
Interview 42/ Comment	Türkenschanzpark	10.07.2011, 3pm	1 person, female, old widow	Notes /German
Interview 43/ Comment	Türkenschanzpark	10.07.2011, 2pm	1 person, male, around 30 years	Notes /German
Interview 44/ Comment	Mauerpark	24.06.2011, 11am	1 person, male, Danish guy who moved to Berlin 5 years ago	Notes /English and German
Interview 45/ Comment	Mauerpark	24.06.2011, 11am	1 person, male, Greek, living in Berlin	Notes /English and German
Interview 46/ Comment	Mauerpark	28.06.2011, 9 pm	1 person, male, punk	Notes / German
Interview 47/ Comment	Türkenschanzpark	07.07.2011	1 person, female, retired lady with dog, 70 years old	Notes / German
Interview 48/ Comment	Mauerpark	Visit 14	1 person, male, 25-30years, two teeth are missing	Notes / German

TABLE 10 INDEX OF USER INTERVIEWS, SOURCE: OWN COLLECTION

EXPERT INTERVIEWS

PARK	INTERVIEWEE/ POSITION	DATE / TIME	DOCUMENTATION / LANGUAGE
Mauerpark	Bernd Krüger/ Head of the association "Freunde des Mauerpark e.V."	18.02.11/ 3pm	Dictaphone/ German
Mauerpark	Herr Schläger/ Bezirksamt Pankow, Amt für Umwelt und Natur	24.06.11/ 10am	Dictaphone/ German
Türkenschanzpark	Herr Schuster/ Objektleiter Gartenbezirk 6, MA 42 - Wiener Stadtgärten	05.07.11/ 10am	Dictaphone/ German

TABLE 11 INDEX OF EXPERT INTERVIEWS, SOURCE: OWN COLLECTION

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

COMMENT	PARK	DATABASE	USERNAME	DATE
Comment 1	Mauerpark	Qype.com	DaWei8	5 März 2011
Comment 2	Mauerpark	Qype.com	Timue	27 Februar 2011
Comment 3	Mauerpark	Qype.com	Rehbein	6 November 2010
Comment 4	Mauerpark	Qype.com	Lauri_Silva	18 Oktober 2010
Comment 5	Mauerpark	Qype.com	Mittemaed...	17 Oktober 2010
Comment 6	Mauerpark	Qype.com	DörteBerlin	3 Oktober 2010
Comment 7	Mauerpark	Qype.com	Birgit13	20 September 2010
Comment 8	Mauerpark	Qype.com	Funsummer	4 August 2010
Comment 9	Mauerpark	Qype.com	Susannevoy	11 Juni 2010
Comment 10	Mauerpark	Qype.com	Cecilia	8 Juni 2010
Comment 11	Mauerpark	Qype.com	mike-o-rama	7 Juni 2010
Comment 12	Mauerpark	Qype.com	Katinken	22 April 2010
Comment 13	Mauerpark	Qype.com	MichaHH	31 Januar 2010
Comment 14	Mauerpark	Qype.com	MicStar	10 November 2009
Comment 15	Mauerpark	Qype.com	berlinstr...	29 September 2009
Comment 16	Mauerpark	Qype.com	bln10439	16 August 2009
Comment 18	Mauerpark	Qype.com	Chelsea1973	21 Juli 2009
Comment 19	Mauerpark	Qype.com	Klaus Buesen	17 Juni 2009
Comment 20	Mauerpark	Qype.com	christo80	27 Dezember 2008
Comment 21	Mauerpark	Qype.com	Halbtagsh...	23 November 2008
Comment 22	Mauerpark	Qype.com	StOrY	27 Oktober 2008
Comment 23	Mauerpark	Qype.com	Stadthunde	21 Oktober 2008
Comment 24	Mauerpark	Qype.com	Digitalnomad	20 Oktober 2008
Comment 25	Mauerpark	Qype.com	PYQE	30 September 2008
Comment 26	Mauerpark	Qype.com	Niclas Gr..	22 September 2008
Comment 27	Mauerpark	Qype.com	Don_Manolo	20 September 2008
Comment 28	Mauerpark	Qype.com	Chris74	9 August 2008
Comment 29	Mauerpark	Qype.com	Einlukas	31 Mai 2008
Comment 30	Mauerpark	Qype.com	Ruiner	30 April 2008
Comment 31	Mauerpark	Yelp.de	Beatrice K.	16.7.2010
Comment 32	Mauerpark	Yelp.de	Tanja B.	31.5.2010
Comment 33	Mauerpark	Yelp.de	Cherine Z.	1.6.2010
Comment 34	Mauerpark	Yelp.de	Martina K.	7.7.2010
Comment 35	Mauerpark	Yelp.de	Robert B.	1.7.2010

COMMENT	PARK	DATABASE	USERNAME	DATE
Comment 36	Mauerpark	Yelp.de	Franzi G.	9.6.2010
Comment 37	Mauerpark	Yelp.de	Mik H.	9.6.2010
Comment 38	Mauerpark	Yelp.de	Anja A.	2.6.2010
Comment 39	Mauerpark	Yelp.de	Karoline K.	27.5.2010
Comment 1	Türkenschanzpark	Qype.com	Wientanz	13.09.2010
Comment 2	Türkenschanzpark	Qype.com	Joewo	23.07.2010
Comment 3	Türkenschanzpark	Qype.com	Martin Adler	23.07.2010
Comment 4	Türkenschanzpark	Qype.com	Esod	9.04.2010
Comment 5	Türkenschanzpark	Qype.com	Bdp1	25.02.2010
Comment 6	Türkenschanzpark	Qype.com	wm_zoo	24.06.2009
Comment 7	Türkenschanzpark	Qype.com	Vinophil	23.04.2009
Comment 8	Türkenschanzpark	Qype.com	kookai_me	08.10.2008
Comment 9	Türkenschanzpark	Qype.com	Oveme	2.08.2008
Comment 10	Türkenschanzpark	Qype.com	Vereniita	02.04.2008
Comment 11	Türkenschanzpark	Yelp.at	Manon H.	23.8.2010
Comment 12	Türkenschanzpark	Yelp.at	Christoph A.	5.9.2010
Comment 13	Türkenschanzpark	Yelp.at	Hanna G	22.8.2010
Comment 14	Türkenschanzpark	Yelp.at	Michael S.	20.8.2010
Comment 15	Türkenschanzpark	Yelp.at	Marijana K.	19.8.2010
Comment 16	Türkenschanzpark	Yelp.at	Thomas J.	18.8.2010
Comment 17	Türkenschanzpark	Yelp.at	Ingrid O.	24.8.2010
Comment 18	Türkenschanzpark	Yelp.at	Sophie A	23.8.2010
Comment 19	Türkenschanzpark	Yelp.at	Robert F.	4.9.2010

TABLE 12 INDEX OF USER COMMENTS, SOURCE: OWN COLLECTION

OBSERVATIONS

VISITS	PARK	DATE / TIME	REMARKS
Visit 1	Mauerpark	Sat, 05.02.2011/ 1.45-2.45pm	
Visit 2	Mauerpark	Sun, 06.02.2011/ 11-12am	Flea Market Day
Visit 3	Mauerpark	Tue, 08.02.2011/ 12.45-2pm	Interviews
Visit 4	Mauerpark	Mo, 14.02.2011/ 1-3pm	Interviews
Visit 5	Mauerpark	Sun, 20.02.2011/ 11am-2pm	Flea Market Day Interviews
Visit 6	Mauerpark	Sun, 27.02.2011/ 12.30-2pm	Flea Market Day Interviews
Visit 7	Mauerpark	Mo, 28.02.2011/ 11am-2pm	Interviews
Visit 8	Mauerpark	Tue, 01.03.2011/ 10.30am-1pm	Interviews
Visit 1	Türkenschanzpark	Sun, 13.03.2011/ 12am-4pm	Mayerei Interviews
Visit 2	Türkenschanzpark	Tue, 15.03.2011/ 11.30am-3pm	Interviews
Visit 3	Türkenschanzpark	Wed, 16.03.2011/ 11am-2pm	Interviews
Visit 4	Türkenschanzpark	Wed, 23.03.2011/ 11.30am-3pm	Interviews
Visit 8	Mauerpark	Mo, 20.06.2011/ 7.30-8.30pm	
Visit 9	Mauerpark	Tue, 21.06.2011/ 4-6pm	Fête de la Musique
Visit 10	Mauerpark	Thu, 23.06.2011/ 2-4pm	
Visit 11	Mauerpark	Fri, 24.06.2011/ 11am-1pm	
Visit 12	Mauerpark	Sat, 25.06.2011/ 10am-9pm	
Visit 13	Mauerpark	Sun, 26.06.2011/ 12am-6pm	Flea Market Day, Karaoke
Visit 14	Mauerpark	Mo, 27.06.2011/ 8am-1pm	Mauersegler
Visit 15	Mauerpark	Tue, 28.06.2011/ 11am-2pm	
Visit 16	Mauerpark	Tue, 28.06.2011/ 7-10pm	
Visit 17	Mauerpark	Thu, 30.06.2011/ 12.30am-1.30pm	
Visit 5	Türkenschanzpark	Tue, 05.07.2011/ 11am-2pm	
Visit 6	Türkenschanzpark	Wed, 06.07.2011/ 12.30am-4pm	
Visit 7	Türkenschanzpark	Thu, 07.07.2011/ 10.45am-4pm	
Visit 8	Türkenschanzpark	Fri, 08.07.2011/ 4.30-8.30pm	
Visit 9	Türkenschanzpark	Sat, 09.07.2011/ 11.30am-6pm	
Visit 10	Türkenschanzpark	Sun, 10.07.2011/ 11am-3pm	
Visit 11	Türkenschanzpark	Mon, 11.07.2011/ 3.30-7pm	
Visit 12	Türkenschanzpark	Sat, 13.08.2011/ 11-11.30pm+2am	Night

TABLE 13 INDEX OF PARK VISITS, SOURCE: OWN DATA

9.3 Interview Questions and Questionnaires

QUESTIONS TO USERS

- Why are you in Mauerpark/Türkenschanzpark today?
- What do you like about the park?
- What is your favourite activity?
- Is there something that disturbs you about the park?
- What would you do if you could change something about the park?
- Where do you live? / Do you come regularly to the park?
- What is your favourite park in the city and why?
- How important are parks in your daily life?
- Which feelings do you relate to a visit in MP/ TP?
- When you make an appointment with your friend/s on which factors does it depend whether you go shopping or to the park?

EXPERT INTERVIEW FREUNDE DES MAUERPARK E.V.

- How would you explain the popularity of Mauerpark? What makes it special in comparison to other parks?
 - Popularity from the beginning on?
 - Developments?
 - Problems
- Which meaning does Mauerpark have according to your opinion for
 - 1) the neighbourhood?
 - 2) the city of Berlin?
- Functions of the association Mauerpark e.V.
 - foundation
 - members
 - collaboration with other institutions?
- What are problems and conflicts concerning the restructuring process of Mauerpark?
 - Different interests amongst citizens?
 - Which kinds of people participate in the workshops? People from Wedding?
 - Approach of Wedding and Prenzlauer Berg through conflict about the extension?
- Influence of the extension on the use of the park?
 - Access to Wedding?
 - More tourists?
 - More regimentation?
- What would you wish for the future of Mauerpark?

EXPERT INTERVIEW BEZIRKSAMT PANKOW

1. Organisational Issues

- How does the Office for Environment and Nature work concerning the maintenance of green areas?
- Are there principles/ guidelines for the maintenance of each park? If yes, who develops them?
- How are decisions for certain interventions like the installation of the dog area made?
- Are there possibilities to include proposals from the public?

- How many people are involved in the maintenance of Mauerpark? / In which fields?

2. Maintenance

- Which changes have there been in the last five years with the raising popularity of Mauerpark concerning its maintenance? (overuse, garbage)
- Which particularities are there concerning Mauerpark's maintenance in comparison to other parks?

3. Regimentation

- How is the regimentation for the use of Mauerpark decided? (barbecue, dog leashes, spraying...)
- Who is responsible for the permission of concerts/ events?
- Are there more user conflicts with the rising popularity of the park?

4. Budget

- Berlin is highly in depth: Is there enough budget for the maintenance of green areas?
- Are there interventions you would like to do but for which the budget is not sufficient?
- Is there a trend concerning the raise /decline of the budget in the field of maintenance of green areas?

5. Collaborations with other institutions

- Concerning events, e.g. Fête de la musique?
- With associations like *Freunden des Mauerpark e.V.*?
- With district *Mitte* because of the planned extension?

EXPERT INTERVIEW WIENER STADTGÄRTEN

1. Organisational Issues

- How do you work concerning the maintenance of green areas?
- Are there principles/ guidelines for the maintenance of each park? If yes, who develops them?
- How are decisions for certain interventions like the installation of the dog area made?
- Are there possibilities to include proposals from the public?
- How many people are involved in the maintenance of Türkenschanzpark? / In which fields?

2. Maintenance

- What kind of changes have there been since you know the park?
- Which particularities are there concerning Türkenschanzpark's maintenance in comparison to other parks?

3. Regimentation

- How is the regimentation for the use of Türkenschanzpark decided? (no barbecues, dog

- leashes,...)
- Who is responsible for the permission of concerts/ events?

4. Budget

- Vienna holds the title for the city with the highest quality of life: Is there enough budget for the maintenance of green areas?
- Are there interventions you would like to do but for which the budget is not sufficient?
- Is there a trend concerning the raise /decline of the budget in the field of maintenance of green areas?

5. Collaborations with other institutions

- Concerning events, e.g. Christmas Market
- With the Pedological University?
- Paulinenwarte: Naturfreunde Ortsgruppe Währing
- ...

QUESTIONNAIRE - Berlin Mauerpark - Master Thesis, Corinna Friedrich, Universität Wien

Where do you live?	How often do you visit Mauerpark? (March-Oct.)	From where do you mostly go to Mauerpark?
<input type="checkbox"/> Pankow <input type="checkbox"/> Mitte <input type="checkbox"/> Other district _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Berlin surrounding <input type="checkbox"/> Different city <input type="checkbox"/> Different country	<input type="checkbox"/> (almost) every day <input type="checkbox"/> 2-3x per week <input type="checkbox"/> Once a week <input type="checkbox"/> 2-3x per month <input type="checkbox"/> Once a month <input type="checkbox"/> Less than once a month <input type="checkbox"/> Just today	<input type="checkbox"/> Home <input type="checkbox"/> Office <input type="checkbox"/> School <input type="checkbox"/> University <input type="checkbox"/> Friends/Family <input type="checkbox"/> While on the road <input type="checkbox"/> Others _____
When do you usually come to Mauerpark? (more answers possible)	With whom do you mostly come to Mauerpark? (more answers possible)	Which area(s) of Mauerpark do you like best? (more answers possible)
<input type="checkbox"/> Morning <input type="checkbox"/> Noon <input type="checkbox"/> Afternoon <input type="checkbox"/> Evening <input type="checkbox"/> Monday to Sunday <input type="checkbox"/> Monday to Saturday <input type="checkbox"/> Sunday	<input type="checkbox"/> alone <input type="checkbox"/> friends <input type="checkbox"/> colleagues <input type="checkbox"/> family <input type="checkbox"/> partner <input type="checkbox"/> kids/grandchildren <input type="checkbox"/> dog <input type="checkbox"/> visitors <input type="checkbox"/> others _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Wall area <input type="checkbox"/> Hill <input type="checkbox"/> Lawn <input type="checkbox"/> Birch groove <input type="checkbox"/> Amphitheatre <input type="checkbox"/> Dog area <input type="checkbox"/> Sitting corner with trees <input type="checkbox"/> Playground <input type="checkbox"/> others _____
Your favourite activities in Mauerpark?	Things you like about Mauerpark...	Things that disturb you about Mauerpark...
Please score the following statements:		
"I come to Mauerpark..." 1 = not the case, 5= strongly applies		1 2 3 4 5
1...to relax		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
2...to enjoy sun and fresh air		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
3...to find distraction/ escape from daily life		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
4...to experience something		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
5...to walk the dog		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
6...to play with the kids/grandchildren		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
7...to meet other people		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
8...to do sports/hobbies		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
9...to be close to nature		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
10...to enjoy the beauty of the park		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
11...to see the wall		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
12...to watch other people		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
13...for events (flea market, karaoke etc.)		<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
Please name the numbers of the 3 most important reasons for a visit in Mauerpark		1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ (order random)
Are there further reasons why you visit Mauerpark?		

Park experience: Please score the following statements:		1	2	3	4	5
1 = not the case, 5= strongly applies						
Parks (in general) are an important element of my daily life		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I could live without parks		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mauerpark is a unique place in the city		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Its history makes Mauerpark a special place		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I associate a visit in Mauerpark with positive feelings		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The people in Mauerpark are open and tolerant		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I have had negative experiences with other park users		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mauerpark is too crowded		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel emotionally attached to Mauerpark		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I think the park is easily accessible		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel safe when I come here alone in the evening		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
What distinguishes Mauerpark from other places in Berlin?		Are there activities that you personally only do in Mauerpark?				
I would come to Mauerpark more often if...						
Please select the 3 most important leisure time facilities of a city	How important are these services for you in a park?	1= not important 5= very important				
		1	2	3	4	5
<input type="checkbox"/> Cinema	1. Free entry	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Cafés/Bars	2. Beauty/Design	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Shopping Centre	3. Few regulations (Barbecue, spraying...)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Sport Centre	4. People/Atmosphere	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Park	5. No cars/ Quietness	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Opera/Theatre	6. Nature	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Public Bath	7. Sport/Play installations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Concert Hall	8. Toilets/running water	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Museums	9. Events (Concerts/markets...)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Entertainment Park	Please name the numbers of the for you 3 most important park characteristics	1.____ 2.____ 3.____ (order random)				
<input type="checkbox"/> Others _____						
Age/ Gender	Household Size	Nationality				
<input type="checkbox"/> <18 <input type="checkbox"/> 19-35	1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5+ <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> German				
<input type="checkbox"/> 36-50 <input type="checkbox"/> 51-65	Young Kids: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Turkish				
<input type="checkbox"/> 65-80 <input type="checkbox"/> 80+	Dog: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Polish				
<input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female	Flatshare: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Serbian				
		<input type="checkbox"/> Others _____				
Highest Education completed	Profession	Income				
<input type="checkbox"/> Klasse _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Pupil	<input type="checkbox"/> No income				
<input type="checkbox"/> Hauptschulabschluss	<input type="checkbox"/> Student	<input type="checkbox"/> <1000€				
<input type="checkbox"/> Mittlere Reife	<input type="checkbox"/> Freelancer	<input type="checkbox"/> 1000-2000€				
<input type="checkbox"/> (Fach-)Abitur	<input type="checkbox"/> Employee	<input type="checkbox"/> 2000-3000€				
<input type="checkbox"/> Lehre	<input type="checkbox"/> Childcare/Household	<input type="checkbox"/> > 3000€				
<input type="checkbox"/> Meister	<input type="checkbox"/> Retired					
<input type="checkbox"/> Universitätsabschluss	<input type="checkbox"/> Seeking work					

9.4 German Expressions

ENGLISH TRANSLATION	ORIGINAL GERMAN EXPRESSION
Devoted public green and recreation area	Gewidmete öffentliche Grün- und Erholungsanlage
Department for environment and nature	Amt für Umwelt und Natur
Plot procedure	Bebauungsplanverfahren
Senate administration	Senatsverwaltung
Preservation Office	Untere Denkmalschutzbehörde
Head of district	Bezirksvorsteher
Application for special use	Sondernutzungsantrag
Workgroup	Planungswerkstatt
Welfare	Sozialhilfe
City Garden Director	Stadtgartendirektor
Head of Garden District	Gartenbezirksleiter
Municipal council	Stadtrat/Stadträtin
Green Area Regulation	Grünanlagenverordnung
Department Head	Dezernent
Protected area (Türkenschanzpark)	Landschaftsschutzgebiet, nach dem Landesgesetzblatt 2/2006
Body for public relations	Referat für Öffentlichkeitsarbeit
Regulation for Green Areas	Grünanlagenverordnung
Pedological University	Bodenkundliche Universität

TABLE 14 ORIGINAL GERMAN EXPRESSIONS FOR USE ENGLISH WORDS, SOURCE: OWN COLLECTION

9.5 Tables

EVENT/ OFFER	DESCRIPTION
Art festival <i>Montmartre</i>	September 2 nd and 4 th , free access Austria's biggest, privately organized art festival (60.000 visitors) with workshops and children flea market ²⁸²
Christmas Market	November 13 th to December 24 th , free access small market with focus on art handcraft and life music ²⁸³
<i>Paulinenwarte</i> visits	one weekend per month April - Sept organised by Naturfreunde Ortsgruppe Währing
<i>Ein Teich macht Schule</i>	Guidance for children at study pond by organisation Studiengruppe Ökologie
<i>Türkenschanzparklauf</i>	Yearly fundraiser of kids for kids organized by the City of Vienna ²⁸⁴
<i>Wiener Parkbetreuung</i>	Free pedagogical animation programmes for children, youth and seniors, 2x week, City of Vienna ²⁸⁵

TABLE 15 EVENTS AND OFFERS IN TÜRKENSCHANZPARK, SOURCE: OWN COLLECTION

Pearson Correlation	Relax	Sun/ Air	Distraction	Experience	Dog	Kids	People
Income TP	,117	,080	-,150	-,192	,050	,101	-,147
Income MP	-,046	,037	-,049	,131	-,009	,061	-,005
Pearson Correlation	Sports/ Hobbies	Nature	Beauty	History	Watch	Events	
Income TP	-,190	,133	,217*	,073	-,034	-,084	
Income MP	-,056	-,074	,077	,059	,307**	,169	

TABLE 16 CORRELATIONS INCOME, SOURCE: OWN DATA

TÜRKENSCHANZPARK		MAUERPARK	
NATIONALITY	NUMBER	NATIONALITY	NUMBER
German	8	USA	1
Serbian	2	Afghani	1
USA	1	Greek	1
Russian	1	Danish	2
Polish	1	Pakistani	1
Brazilian	1	French	2
Irish	1	Bulgarian	1
Hungarian	1	Swedish	2
Romanian	1	Polish	1
Bulgarian	1	Australian	1
		Turkish	5
		Italian	1
		South African	1
		Austrian	1

TABLE 17 QUESTIONNAIRES FOREIGN NATIONALITIES, SOURCE: OWN DATA

²⁸² Cf. MONTMATRE WIEN 2011

²⁸³ Cf. ROMAN 2011

²⁸⁴ Cf. EDELHAUSER 2011

²⁸⁵ Cf. WIESINGER 2011

CORRELATIONS		Tolerance	Negative Experience	Safety	Freedom	Age
Tolerance	Pearson Correlation	1	-,027	,218*	,146	-,210*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,787	,030	,147	,036
	N	100	100	100	100	100
Negative Experience	Pearson Correlation	-,027	1	-,026	-,073	-,020
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,787		,798	,471	,843
	N	100	100	100	100	100
Safety	Pearson Correlation	,218*	-,026	1	,200*	-,299**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,030	,798		,046	,003
	N	100	100	100	100	100
Freedom	Pearson Correlation	,146	-,073	,200*	1	-,511**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,147	,471	,046		,000
	N	100	100	100	100	100
Age	Pearson Correlation	-,210*	-,020	-,299**	-,511**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,036	,843	,003	,000	
	N	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 18 TÜRKENSCHANZPARK: CORRELATIONS BETWEEN AGE, TOLERANCE, NEGATIVE EXPERIENCE, SAFETY AND FREEDOM, SOURCE: OWN DATA

CORRELATIONS		Tolerance	Negative Experience	Safety	Freedom	Age
Tolerance	Pearson Correlation	1	-,090	,152	,158	-,238*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,376	,131	,116	,017
	N	100	99	100	100	100
Negative Experience	Pearson Correlation	-,090	1	-,020	,118	-,280**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,376		,843	,247	,005
	N	99	99	99	99	99
Safety	Pearson Correlation	,152	-,020	1	,187	,016
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,131	,843		,063	,876
	N	100	99	100	100	100
Freedom	Pearson Correlation	,158	,118	,187	1	-,050
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,116	,247	,063		,620
	N	100	99	100	100	100
Age	Pearson Correlation	-,238*	-,280**	,016	-,050	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,017	,005	,876	,620	
	N	100	99	100	100	100

TABLE 19 MAUERPARK: CORRELATIONS BETWEEN AGE, TOLERANCE, SAFETY, NEGATIVE EXPERIENCE AND FREEDOM, SOURCE: OWN DATA

OPERATIONALISATION QUESTIONNAIRE

RESEARCH OBJECT	DIMENSION	QUESTION
USER GROUPS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> VISITING HABITS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Where do you live? How often do you visit Mauerpark? From where do you mostly go to Mauerpark? With whom do you mostly come to Mauerpark?
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SOCIO DEMOGRAPHIC DATA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Age/ Gender Household Size/ Kids/ Dog/ Flat share Nationality Highest Education completed Profession Income
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SPATIAL /TEMPORAL DISTRIBUTION 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> When do you usually come to the Mauerpark? (TIME/DAY OF THE WEEK) Which area(s) of Mauerpark do you like best?
INTERNAL MOTIVATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sports/Hobbies Kids Meeting Place Passive Contacts/Watch Dog Relaxation Escape Experience Sun/ Fresh Air Be in nature/ enjoy beauty 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Your favourite activities in Mauerpark? <p>"I come to Mauerpark..."</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> to relax to enjoy sun and fresh air ...to find distraction/ escape from daily life to experience something to walk the dog to play with the kids/grandchildren to meet other people ...to do sports/hobbies to be close to nature to enjoy the beauty of the park to watch other people for events (flea market, karaoke etc.) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Please name the numbers of the 3 most important reasons for a visit in Mauerpark Are there further reasons why you visit Mauerpark? Parks (in general) are an important element of my daily life I could live without parks

RESEARCH OBJECT	DIMENSION	QUESTION
EXTERNAL MOTIVATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Layout/Design • Size • Distance/ Access • History • Non-commercialized space 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Things you like about Mauerpark... <p>"I come to Mauerpark..."</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to see the wall • to enjoy the beauty of the park <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mauerpark is a unique place in the city • Its history makes Mauerpark a special place • I think the park is easily accessible <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What distinguishes Mauerpark from other places in Berlin? • Are there activities that you personally only do in Mauerpark?
POSITIVE EXPERIENCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attachment • Positive feelings • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I associate a visit in Mauerpark with positive feelings • The people in Mauerpark are open and tolerant • I feel emotionally attached to Mauerpark
NEGATIVE EXPERIENCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Safety • Crowding • Social conflicts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Things that disturb you about Mauerpark... • I have had negative experiences with other park users • Mauerpark is too crowded • I feel safe when I come here alone in the evening
CONSTRAINTS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of time • Bad weather 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I would come to Mauerpark more often if...
PARKS IN COMPETITION TO OTHER LEISURE TIME FACILITIES		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Please select the 3 most important leisure time facilities of a city • Please name the numbers of the for you 3 most important park characteristics

TABLE 20 OPERATIONALISATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE, SOURCE: OWN TABLE

9.6 Charts

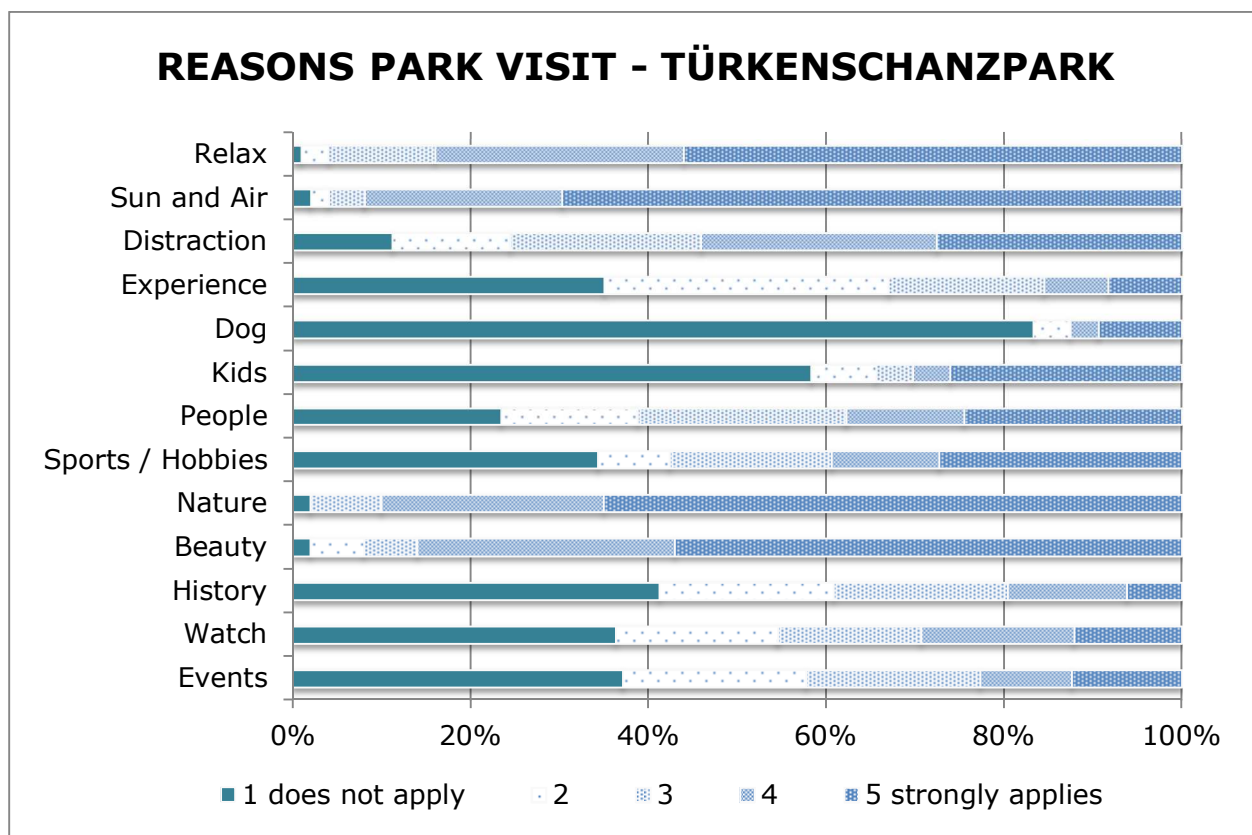


CHART 28 REASONS FOR PARK VISIT- TÜRKENSCHANZPARK, SOURCE: OWN DATA

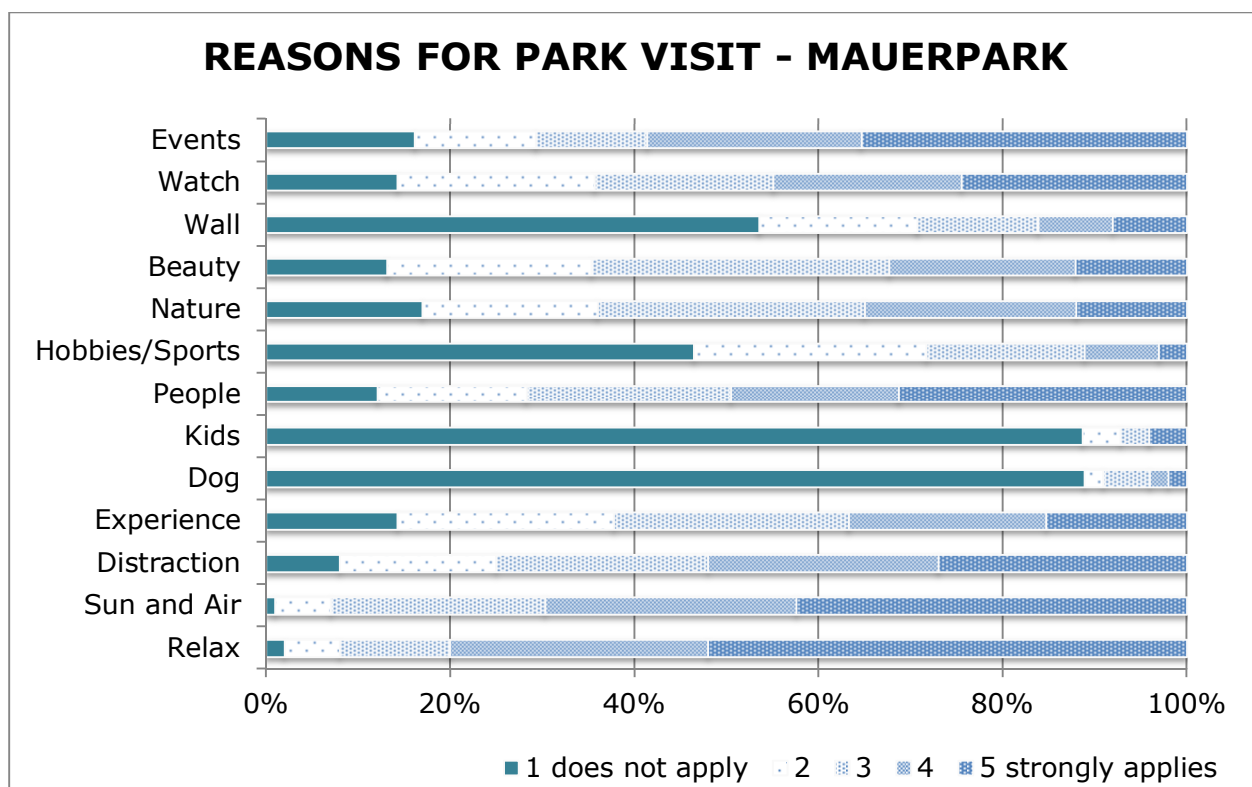


CHART 29 REASONS FOR PARK VISIT – MAUERPARK, SOURCE: OWN DATA

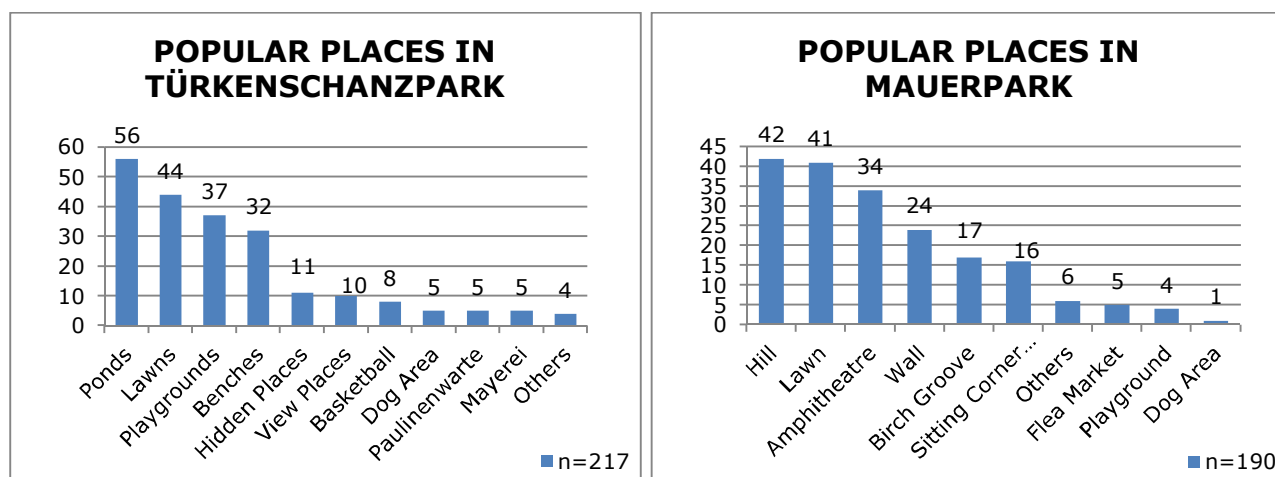


CHART 30 POPULAR PLACES IN THE PARKS, SOURCE: OWN DATA

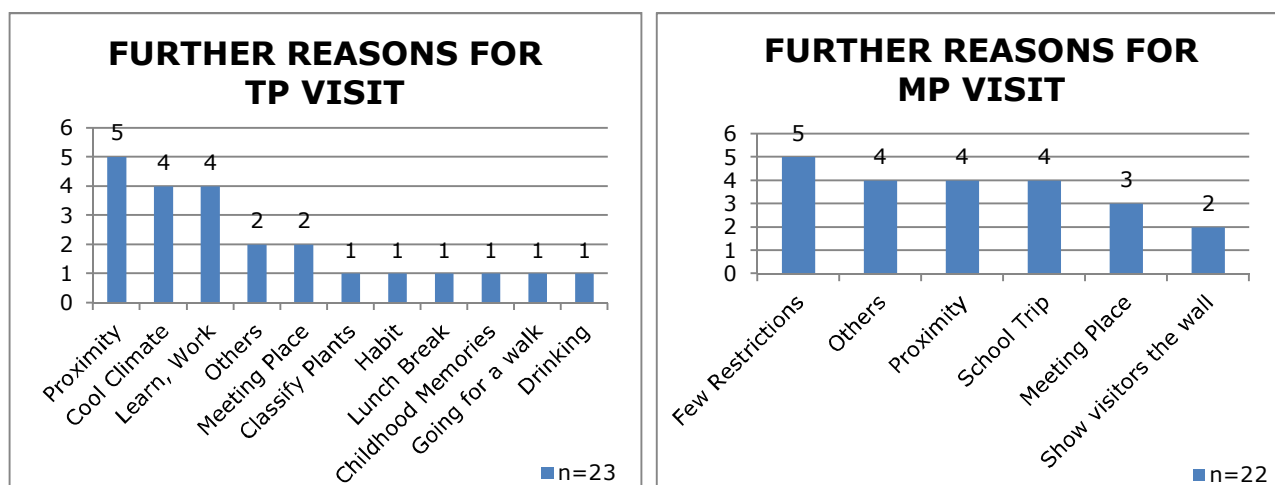


CHART 31 FURTHER REASONS FOR PARK VISITS, SOURCE: OWN DATA

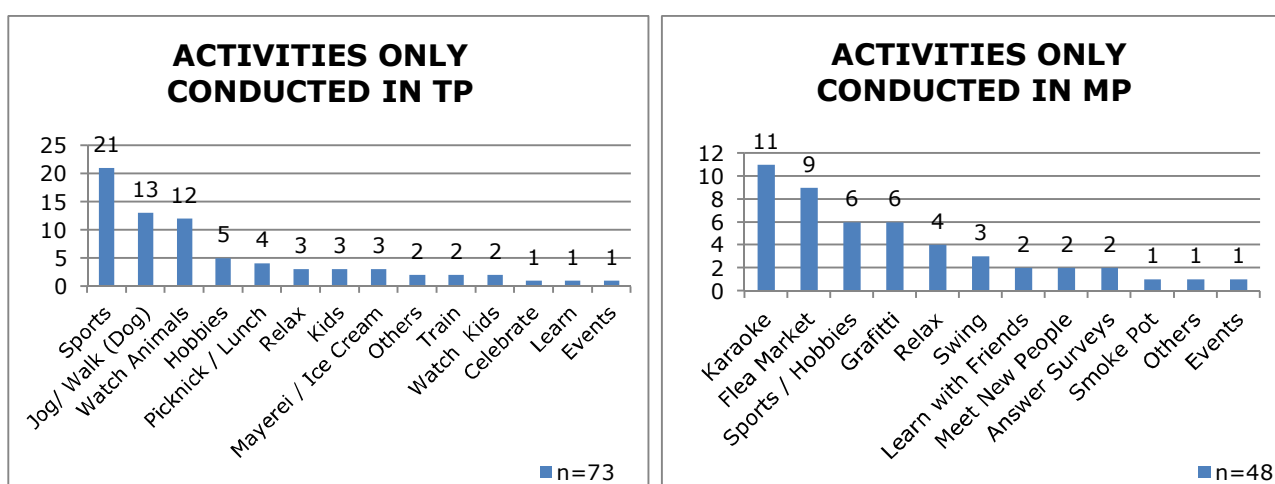


CHART 32 ACTIVITIES ONLY CONDUCTED IN TP/ MP, SOURCE: OWN DATA

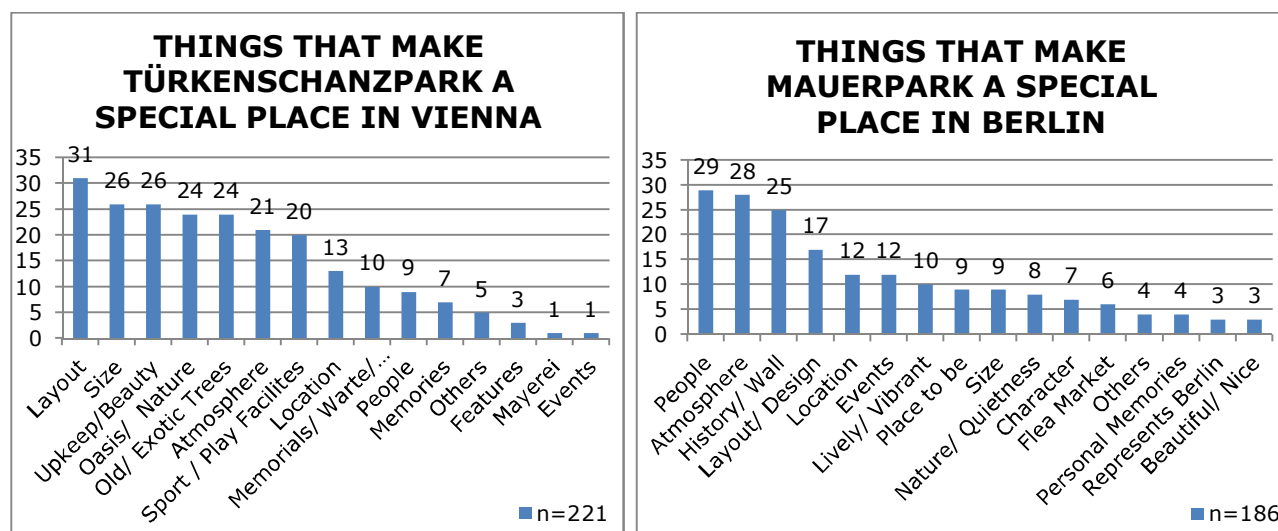


CHART 33 THINGS WHICH MAKE TP/ MP A SPECIAL PLACE, SOURCE: OWN DATA

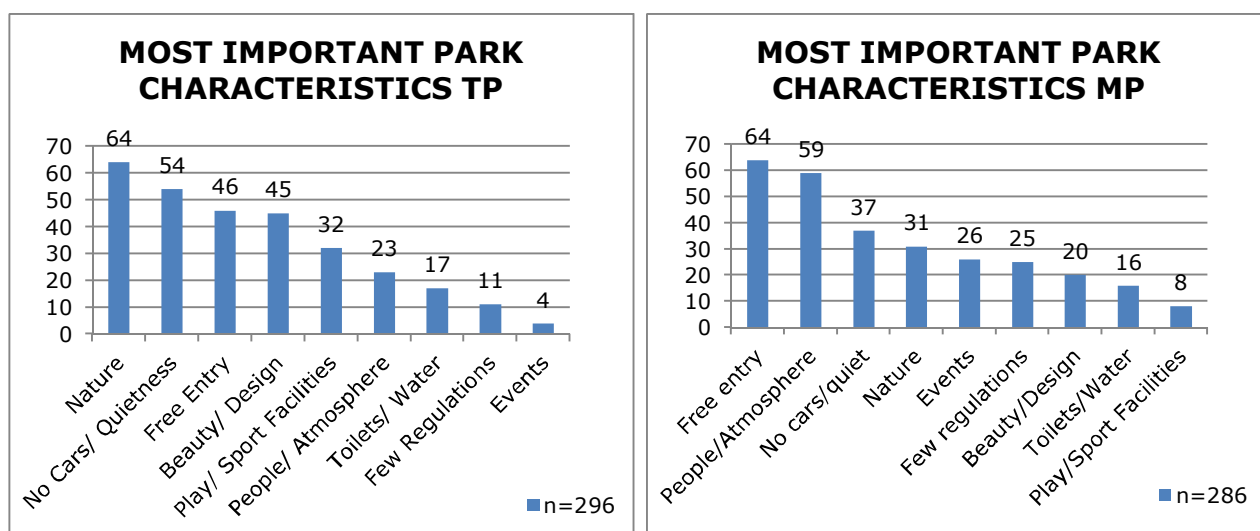


CHART 34 MOST IMPORTANT PARK CHARACTERISTICS TP/ MP, SOURCE: OWN DATA

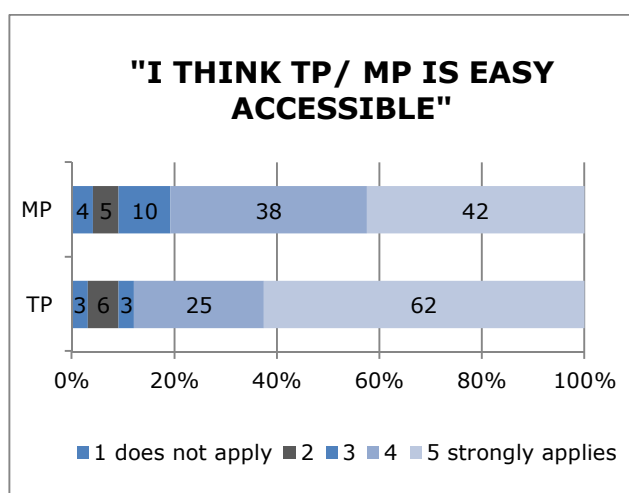


CHART 35 ACCESSIBILITY OF THE PARK, SOURCE: OWN DATA

9.7 Description of Türkenschanzpark



PICTURE 12 POND IN TÜRKENSCHANZPARK, SOURCE: OWN PICTURE

Türkenschanzpark includes four ponds that constitute two closed systems. They contain waterfalls, fountains, a duck feeding place and a crossing bridge. The ponds are home to several water birds and a crane. The southernmost of the ponds is a study pond that functions as a habitat for several protected animals. In the west and eastern end, the park contains two fenced dog areas. In the south east a large play and sport area *Freizeitwelt* including an open playground, a beach-volleyball, basketball and soccer field as well as skating facilities was created in 1999. Another fenced playground for younger children and a fenced basketball zone exist. Furthermore sand boxes, table tennis tables, chess playing tables and facilities to install slacklines are distributed in different locations in the park. A 1500 m long paved path leads around the park, providing possibilities for jogging, Nordic walking and skating. Thus Türkenschanzpark offers several possibilities for leisure and recreation activities for all age groups. The park also harbours some conveniences like roofed tables for rain protection, a drinking fountain, street lamps, and two free public toilets. All in all around 600 benches are installed in the park. When wandering through the park, visitors might pass by one of the numerous memorials in the form of statues, memorial stones, benches or fountains. The 23 m high observation tower *Paulinenwarte* rises on a hill in the eastern part of the park. It was built in 1909 in the style of the surrounding villas and is named after the princess *Fürstin Pauline Metternich* who donated several of Türkenschanzpark's exotic plants. It was closed in the middle of the 70ies and re-opened to the public in august 2010.²⁸⁶ Close to the southern border of *Hasenauerstraße* lies the café and restaurant *Mayerei*. It offers Austrian cuisine and includes an ice cream parlour and is popular amongst the older guests and families. Also remarkable is the train line *Schnellbahn S45*, constructed in 1895, that runs underground the park and is visible on a short stretch.

²⁸⁶ Cf. WIENER STADTGÜRTEN 2011B





PICTURE 13 TÜRKENSCHANZPARK IMPRESSIONS, SOURCE: OWN PICTURES

9.8 Description of Mauerpark



PICTURE 14 MAUER PARK FROM ABOVE, SOURCE: DENNIS KARSTEN/MAUER PARK.COM

A paved bicycle path *Schwedter Straße* runs through the middle of the park. It is part of Berlin's *Mauerweg*, the wall path which leads along all remaining pieces of the Berlin Wall. To its west extends a huge, elongated lawn with hardly any tree. On the eastern side rises a hill of around 25 m height which ends in a paved path that leads alongside the remaining part of the listed Berlin Wall. At the top of the hill five 5 m high swings are placed with which one can "swing into the sky and it feels like it, because one is almost swinging on the edge."²⁸⁷ Some benches and tables allow for sitting and enjoying the view of the undeveloped piece of lawn and one can "experience the sunset especially beautiful, not uncommonly with live music."²⁸⁸ At the southern, upper part of the hill a fenced dog area with some benches, trees and playing facilities for dogs is installed. Several trees are growing on the hill and in summer it is covered with lilac flowers. On its northern part, an amphitheatre with a stage is integrated into the hill. Opposite, on the western side of the path, is a paved basketball field. Also west of the path, but further to the south, one will find an area with some tiny trees that is surrounded by a low wall to sit on. Along the western side of the path some low stone walls, surrounded by little hedges are installed. At the northern end of the park one can find two Boule places. In the northern part of Mauerpark adjacent to the lawn, a fenced children's playground with a huge climbing frame is installed. Further north of it is a little birch grove. Following the path, one will arrive at a gate that leads through a fenced way that ends in the second part of the Mauerpark. The park does not provide amenities like toilets, running water, lighting or rain protection.

²⁸⁷ COMMENT 36

²⁸⁸ COMMENT 15





PICTURE 15 MAUER PARK IMPRESSIONS, SOURCE: OWN DATA

LEBENS LAUF

PERSÖNLICHE DATEN

Name: Corinna Friedrich
Geburtsort/ Datum: Nürnberg, 19. Juni 1986
Familienstand: Ledig
Nationalität: Deutsch

AUSBILDUNG & ABSCHLÜSSE

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09/1996 bis 06/2005: Leibniz-Gymnasium Altdorf, Allgemeine Hochschulreife
10/2006 bis 09/2009: Universität Bayreuth, B.Sc. Geographie

Bachelorarbeit: Energetische Sanierung von Altbauten. Eine empirische Untersuchung zur Sanierungsbereitschaft von Eigenheimbesitzern in Ansbach

09/2009 bis 09/2011: UNICA Euromaster in Urban Studies 4 Cities
08/2009 bis 01/2010: Université Libre de Bruxelles & Vrije Universiteit Brussel
03/2010 bis 06/2010: Universität Wien
09/2010 bis 01/2011: University of Copenhagen
03/2011 bis 05/2011: Universidad Autonoma de Madrid & Complutense Universidad

Master Thesis: The Attraction of Public Parks in the Post-modern City. An empirical study of Vienna's Türkenschanzpark and Berlin's Mauerpark

PRAKTIKA & ARBEITSERFAHRUNG

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06/2009 bis 08/2009: Hilfwissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin, Abteilung Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung, Uni Bayreuth
03/2008 bis 04/2008: Praktikum Büro PLANWERK Nürnberg, Einzelhandelsentwicklung
09/2007 bis 10/2007: Deutsche Geographentage 2007 in Bayreuth, Mitarbeit als Studentische Hilfskraft
02/2006 bis 03/2006: Praktikum Umweltamt Nürnberg, Abteilung Klimaschutz und Energieplanung
09/2005 bis 10/2005: Praktikum Infowerk ag Nürnberg, Abteilung Kreativ Service, Projektmanagement
09/2005 bis 12/2009: Printeria GmbH Nürnberg, Beratung/Verkauf/Digitale Bildbearbeitung

ABSTRACT [Deutsch]

In dieser Arbeit werden öffentliche Parks vor dem Hintergrund des neoliberalen Planungsparadigmas untersucht, welches der Entstehung von exklusiven Konsumorten in der Stadt eine Priorität einräumt und dadurch Investitionen in öffentliche Infrastrukturen vernachlässigt. Öffentliche Parks stellen theoretisch inklusive Orte dar, die nicht durch Konsum geprägt sind und Vorzüge für alle Bevölkerungsschichten bieten. Dadurch haben Parks das Potential die Parameter Wettbewerb und Sozialer Zusammenhalt, sowie Konsum und Lebensqualität, zu Entkoppeln. Städte werden nicht nur von Politikern und Planern gestalten, sondern auch von den Menschen die in ihnen Leben, durch die Art wie sie sich täglich in der Stadt bewegen. Zudem haben die Nutzer oder Konsumenten durch ihre Nachfragemacht einen wachsenden Einfluss. Aus diesen Gründen werden Parks aus der Perspektive der Konsumenten betrachtet. Im empirischen Teil der Arbeit wird die Frage untersucht, wie Parks ihre Nutzer anziehen. Dazu werden die zwei Forschungsobjekte Mauerpark in Berlin und Türkenschanzpark in Wien herangezogen, da sie beide sehr beliebte Parks, mit jedoch sehr unterschiedlichen Charakteren, sind. Die Frage wird mit Hilfe von Interviews, Beobachtungen, einer Diskursanalyse und einer Umfrage analysiert. Die Diskussion beleuchtet Parks als Orte die mehr Vorzüge bieten als lediglich die Verfügbarkeit von Natur im urbanen Raum. Dadurch werden Ansatzpunkte aufgezeigt, wie es für Parks möglich ist, mit anderen Freizeiteinrichtungen in der Stadt zu konkurrieren.

ABSTRACT [English]

In this thesis, urban public parks are analysed against the background of a neoliberal planning paradigm in the post-modern city which favours the creation of exclusive consumption spaces and thus neglects investment in public infrastructure. Public parks can theoretically provide inclusive non-consumption spaces that provide benefits for all parts of society. In this way they have the potential to delinking the parameters of competitiveness and social cohesion as well as consumption and quality of life. Cities are not just shaped by politicians and urban planners, but also by the residents living in them through their daily spatial practices. Moreover the users or consumers have rising influence due to their power of demand. Because of these reasons, parks will be analysed from the users' perspectives. In the empirical part the question of how parks attract their users will be investigated. The two case study parks, Mauerpark in Berlin and Türkenschanzpark in Vienna, are used as they represent two popular parks with very different characters. The question is examined with qualitative and quantitative methods, through interviews, observations, a discourse analysis and a survey. The discussion presents parks as places that offer more benefits than simply providing nature in the city and thus shows starting points for how parks can compete for users with other leisure time facilities in the city.